# THEMILITANT

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to act on Mark Curtis' behalf

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**Appeal to United Nations** 

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# 'no labor peace' at Eastern

"Eighteen months ago, when the Eastern strike began, Frank Lorenzo intended to create a non-union airline empire. He set out to break the Machinists union and thereby create the subservient workforce he needed," Eastern strikers said in a leaflet handed out at Florida International University (FIU), in

"The dignity, pride, and perseverance of the 9,300 working men and women of the union prevailed. Lorenzo has been defeated, driven from the airline altogether.

"Martin Shugrue replaced Lorenzo, as the bankruptcy court-appointed trustee, six months ago," the strikers wrote. "Until a contract is negotiated with the Machinists union and the strikers are returned to work, there can be no labor peace."

Miami strikers handed out 2,000 copies of the leaflet and urged students to join them in a September 25 informational picket line protesting the university administration's decision to invite Shugrue as the "President's Choice Lecturer" on the topic of "The New

Attempting to keep the strikers from reaching the students with information on the strike, university officials told the unionists they had to leave the college because "bringing politics on campus" was not allowed without the vice-president's approval. Insurance coverage, to the tune of \$1 million, was also demanded as a condition for receiving a permit to picket.

The strikers approached the FIU College Democrats after being forced to close down their literature display and got them to sponsor a literature table on behalf of the Machin-

On September 25, the day of Shugrue's speaking engagement, some 50 strikers and supporters held up a large banner outside the building reading, "No contract, no peace!"

Strikers in Miami were also warmly greeted at the national convention of the United Mine Workers of America. Delegates snapped up 400 red strike T-shirts. At Miami International Airport September 26 miners from Illinois and Pennsylvania wearing Eastem strike T-shirts joined Machinists in a march from one end of the terminal to the other. "We are union," the unionists chanted.

Police have banned the wearing of the shirt by strikers inside the terminal and miners

Continued on Page 4

# Strikers' UN Council imposes air embargo on Iraq

#### BY SELVA NEBBIA

In a vote of 14 to 1, with Cuba voting against, the United Nations Security Council took further steps September 25 to tighten its embargo against Iraq.

The resolution is the eighth passed by the UN body since the Iraqi regime invaded neighboring Kuwait August 2. Earlier resolutions condemned the invasion and demanded Iraqi troops immediately withdraw from Kuwaiti territory. Subsequent resolutions imposed a naval embargo on all trade with Iraq and approved the use of force to enforce the blockade. The most recent resolution extends the embargo to include air traffic with Iraq. It also provides for the imposition of trade sanctions on any country breaking the embargo.

The Security Council warned Iraq that continued refusal to withdraw from Kuwait

"could lead to further action by the Council under the Charter of the United Nations including Chapter 7." That chapter allows the UN to use military force if necessary to secure compliance with its orders.

The UN resolutions attest to Washington's success over the past two months in winning diplomatic, economic, political, and military backing for its war moves in the Persian Gulf. Under cover of the UN, the Bush administration has amassed a multinational force that includes troops from some 26

#### 'Act of terrorism'

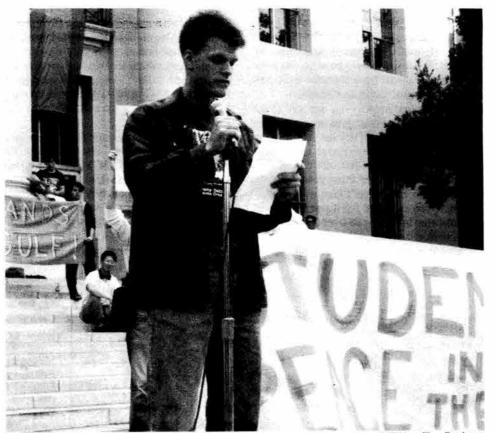
Taking the lead in getting the air embargo adopted, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze called the Iraqi invasion "an act of terrorism perpetrated against the emerging new world order" and "a major affront to mankind." After warning that war would break out at any time in the Gulf, Shevardnadze suggested the building of "a rapid response force" to deal with "unconventional situations.

Meanwhile, Washington has continued to bolster its military forces in the Persian Gulf region, which already include 150,000

The Pentagon has ordered 7,100 more reserve soldiers and airmen to active duty, increasing the total number of reservists called so far to 21,000. On September 19 Defense Secretary Richard Cheney said that he expected 30,000 more to be called by the end of the month.

Other governments that have sent troops and war matériel to the region are also in-Continued on Page 13

# Coast-to-coast actions on October 20 to protest U.S. intervention in Gulf



Militant/Eva Braiman

Erik Larsen, U.S. Marine Corps Reserve lance corporal who refused to go to Saudi Arabia, spoke to 2,000 at antiwar teach-in on Berkeley, California, campus.

# Candidates speak out against war moves

#### BY YVONNE HAYES

Socialist candidates around the country and in other parts of the world - are winning a hearing among working people and getting some attention from the press with their opposition to U.S. war moves in the Arab East.

"I deal with Big Oil every day," explained Buddy Beck at a news conference in Salt Lake City to introduce the Socialist Workers Party candidates in Utah. Beck, an oil refinery worker, is chairperson of the Utah SWP campaign.

"I put up with their lies and deceit about pricing, safety, and environmental conhe said. "The oil companies help dictate U.S. foreign policy, which is leading us into war against the working people of the

## SOCIALIST WORKERS 90 **CAMPAIGN**

Middle East. This is a foreign policy that the Socialist Workers campaign wholeheartedly condemns." The news conference was covered by two television stations and one of the city's daily newspapers.

Following the news conference, Ellie García and Tony Dutrow, SWP candidates for U.S. Congress, and the party's candidates for state legislature joined a rally of more than 100 in front of the Federal Building to protest the U.S. war moves in Iraq.

García spoke at the rally, inviting participants to a campaign open house following the event. Nearly 50 people attended. Many signed up for information on the campaign and classes sponsored by the Young Socialist

The SWP is running campaigns in 23 states and the District of Columbia, fielding full slates in state elections as well as running for federal and local offices. Among the SWP candidates are a number of members of the

"As a draft-age student and young worker, I would like to address my peers," said SWP candidate for Georgia school superintendent Tyrome Hollins, explaining his campaign.

Continued on Page 5

#### BY SELVA NEBBIA

'Bring the troops home!" and "No war for oil company profits" are the demands of demonstrations called for October 20, from San Francisco to New York in opposition to the U.S. war moves in the Arab East.

The leaflet of the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East, which is organizing the New York action, states, "Join the many thousands taking to the streets to protest the Bush administration's dangerous military buildup in the Persian Gulf.'

We are getting a lot of calls from all over the country. There is a special interest from campuses," said Rebecca Toledo, a volunteer

#### See editorial on page 14.

working in the New York office of the coalition. "Many volunteers are coming in to help on publicity and fund-raising for the action,"

October 20 actions are so far scheduled to take place in about a dozen U.S. cities, including San Diego, Houston, Birmingham, Los Angeles, Cleveland, New York, and San Francisco. Actions will also take place in Canada, Britain, Sweden, and Italy.

Marches, forums, teach-ins, and other protest demonstrations have been taking place across the country since the massive deployment of U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia began following the August 2 invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi military forces. Further actions are being planned to help build the nationally coordinated October 20 protests.

 "I call on you all to get out in the streets and to protest on October 20, the National Day of Protests, in San Francisco, in Seattle, in New York City, and all across the nation,' said Erik Larsen to a standing ovation of more than 2,000 in Berkeley, California.

Larsen, a Marine Corps Reserve lance corporal who has refused to go to Saudi Arabia, was speaking at the First National Teach-In on the Middle East, held at the University of California Berkeley campus September 14. The teach-in was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee Against a Vietnam War in the Middle East.

Ron Kovic, a disabled Vietnam veteran, also spoke at the teach-in. "I've come here tonight to tell you that the fight is just beginning," he said, "and that if President Bush goes to war in the Mideast, then we are going

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# Manila meeting sparks discussion on Cuba

MANILA, Philippines — In spite of monsoon storms and floods, 70 people turned out for a meeting here to promote the book In Defense of Socialism. The gathering was held while the Manila Bookfair was taking place.

The book is a collection of four speeches given by Fidel Castro to mark the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. The meeting was sponsored by the book's publisher, Pathfinder Press, in cooperation with the Cuban embassy here.

In opening the meeting, Russell Johnson of Pathfinder pointed to the increased attacks faced by Cuba, including the recent provocations at some embassies in Havana and Washington's orchestrated campaign to challenge Cuba's human rights record. "If Washington had hoped to provoke events like those seen in Eastern Europe, then it would have been disappointed," Johnson said.

After the collapse of the Stalinist Communist Party-dominated regimes in Eastern Europe, the crisis faced by President Mikhail Gorbachev in the USSR, and the 1989 Tiananmen Square events in China, imperialist propagandists are proclaiming that socialism is a dead system, he said.

They are attempting to demoralize youth into accepting that there is no system better than capitalism worth struggling and sacrificing for, Johnson emphasized.

#### Target of imperialism

The struggle by Cuba's workers and farmers to deepen the socialist and internationalist course of the revolution, outlined in Castro's book, shows this propaganda is a lie, he said, which is why the Cuban revolution and its leadership is a central target of the imperial-

Dan Vismanos, president of Amistad, the Philippines-Cuba friendship association, also referred to the events in Eastern Europe, which, he said, were partially or totally confusing many people.

"We need to introduce Fidel's insights and thoughts [on the building of socialism in Cuba], which are contained in this book," he said. "This is a prerequisite for an understanding of contemporary events.'

The chairman of the League of Filipino Students, Nathaniel Santiago, outlined achievements made in Cuba, which he visited in 1989. Cuba, he explained, may not be a "highly advanced and modernized country" but it is "a prosperous nation in the sense that it has healthy, educated, employed people."

Vismanos talked of conditions in the Philippines: the shoot-outs between soldiers and police, drug abuse, students being truncheoned for protesting tuition hikes, hundreds of thousands dying of preventable diseases, and an infant mortality rate of 56 per 1,000 live births.

This, he said, contrasted with the popular prestige of Cuba's armed forces and the dramatic social progress achieved as a result of

the revolution, which are detailed in Castro's 30th anniversary speeches.

#### Cuba's internationalism

The speakers also pointed to Cuba's record of international solidarity, particularly its role in helping Angola decisively defeat the South African invaders in 1988.

A lively discussion developed around Castro's assertion that socialism cannot be built through the use of capitalist methods. Santiago agreed with the Cuban leader's repudiation of the technocrats' view of man as an incorrigible animal, incapable of creating a society based on human solidarity. But he felt that Castro's rejection of capitalist methods was too sweeping.

'Any abrupt leap from capitalism to socialism will logically result in an authoritarian form of rule, command-and-administer system, peoples' suppression, demoralization, and demobilization. I guess," he said, "among other factors, this has been the cause of the East European crisis.'

In Defense of Socialism, Johnson said, explains that it was the retreat from placing the political education and mobilization of the working class in Cuba at the center of building socialism over recent years that had been leading to the demoralization of working people and the growth of bureaucratic corruption and inefficiency throughout the institutions of the revolution.

"In place of reliance on the blind market mechanisms borrowed from capitalism to develop the economy," Johnson said, "Castro advances the reorganization of the Communist Party as the socialist vanguard that leads the workers and farmers by its example in all the revolution's tasks."

In concluding the July 28 meeting, María Sánchez of the Cuban embassy stressed that this was a time when Cuba needed its friends. She thanked participants for attending the book launching, which, she said, was also an opportunity to celebrate Cuba's national holiday, July 26, the opening of the revolutionary struggle in 1953.

The stormy weather limited participation in the meeting, including by two of the scheduled speakers - Alex Magno of the Third World Studies Center at the University of the Philippines and Merlin Magallona from the university's law faculty. One speaker had to walk for two hours through flooded areas to get to the meeting.

Forty-two copies of In Defense of Socialism were sold at the meeting and during the



Nathaniel Santiago, chairman of the League of Filipino Students.

### Canadian steelworkers rally support

BY LYNDA LITTLE AND MAGGIE TROWE

SAULT STE. MARIE, Ontario — "We need to stick together to win," Gerry Blais, president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 2251, told 300 strikers at a "pep rally" September 17. The rally was at the main gate of the Algoma Steel Co. (ASC) in this northern Ontario city.

Close to 6,000 workers in five USWA locals — mill and office workers in the Sault Ste. Marie steel and tube mills and office workers and iron ore miners in nearby Wawa - set up picket lines when their contract expired August 1. ASC tried to intimidate its work force by locking out the workers a few

The Algoma strike and another strike by 10,000 USWA members against the Steel Co. of Canada (Stelco) have shut down 54 percent of steel production in Canada.

Steelworkers at Algoma are on strike against contracting out jobs to companies using nonunion labor. They are also fighting for wage increases large enough to compensate for inflation. ASC has offered only a 7 percent wage hike over three years

Even with the union's cost-of-living allowance, wages would fall 4 percent behind the projected inflation rate over the next three years with this offer.

Several years ago ASC was bought by

Dofasco of Hamilton, Ontario. The buyout made Dofasco the largest steel producer in Canada, but its main steel mills in Hamilton are not unionized. Maintaining the union at ASC is an important question for the strikers.

More than 50 strikers per shift picket round the clock at the four gates to the steelworks and the tube mill. In the first week of September, strikers rallied to stop ASC from shipping several large dies to a General Motors plant in southern Ontario. Police helped ASC get the dies out of the yard and arrested 14 strikers in the process. The union is now fighting the charges brought against these

ASC is still operating its coke ovens and has been trying to build up a winter stockpile of coal. Coal comes in by boat through the Great Lakes, which are frozen from November to April, making delivery impossible for that period. ASC is pressing the union to settle before November or the company will shut the mill for the winter.

The union has set up an informational boat picket, using members' small boats in the waterway in front of ASC's dock. Seafarers International Union (SIU) members on incoming coal ships have respected USWA boat pickets and refused to unload the coal. Scab labor has been doing the job, which the SIU is challenging.

There is high unemployment in Sault Ste.

Marie, and ASC hard-line tactics reflect worsening economic prospects for the company. Moreover, the strike is linked to other struggles which have polarized the city.

Many of the strikers at ASC are Frenchspeaking. The city council passed an "English only" resolution last winter, outlawing French in municipal services. This action, met by protests, was led by local businessmen. In the recent Ontario provincial election, the Confederation of Regions Party, which openly opposes French-speaking people, polled 20 percent of the vote in Sault Ste. Marie.

The Garden River Ojibway Native reserve is only a few miles out of town and activists from there blockaded the Trans-Canada Highway, which runs through the reserve, for a few hours during the summer in support of the Mohawk struggle in Québec. Several Natives, including Band Chief Dennis Jones, are Algoma strikers.

The union raised over \$8,000 to buy medical supplies for strikers' families at a games fair where merchants donated the prizes. Farmers at the local farmers' market have donated food to the strikers.

Summing up the mood of the strike, Doug Watt, vice-president of local 2251, stated, "We have started to fight for our rights and we should. We can only be put in a corner for so long.'

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# ANC takes initiative to halt South Africa violence; condemns police, gov't actions

#### BY GREG McCARTAN

Following a meeting of its National Executive Committee, the African National Congress announced September 20 that it had begun high-level meetings with the Inkatha Freedom Party, headed by Gatsha Buthelezi. The ANC leadership also said it would invite Buthelezi, in his capacity as head of the KwaZulu Bantustan, to a meeting between the ANC and other top Bantustan officials.

During a series of television interviews ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela said he will meet with Buthelezi and set up other discussions "between the organizations to bring them together."

The ANC initiative comes in the wake of recent fighting that erupted in Black townships in the Transvaal region surrounding Johannesburg. Some 800 people have died there in the last two months. The ANC initiative is aimed at overcoming the divisions among Blacks created by apartheid in order to deepen the struggle against the system of white minority domination.

The ANC leadership meeting included representatives of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the United Democratic Front (UDF), and representatives from all of the 16 regions of the ANC in South Africa.

Portrayed in the big-business press as factional warfare between the ANC and Inkatha, between Zulu-speaking and Xhosa-speaking people, or simply "tribal" violence, the fighting has claimed some 5,000 lives over the past several years, mainly in Natal Province where Inkatha is based.

Since his release from prison February 11, Mandela has campaigned to unite all organizations opposed to apartheid and expose the involvement of the police and army in the violent attacks on township residents across the country.

KwaZulu is one of 10 Bantustans set up under laws, beginning with the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, that restricted the legal limit on land owned by Africans to 13.7 percent of the country. Under a series of "homeland acts," which today bar every African from holding even formal South African citizenship, each African is supposed to be assigned to one of the 10 Bantustans on the basis of their "tribal" origins.

Overcrowded, generally located on the poorest soil, and lacking a developed infrastructure or much industrial development, the Bantustans are vast reserves of migratory labor on which the majority of the Black population lives today. Seeking work outside of the Bantustans, Blacks often must live in sex-segregated barracks, called hostels, surrounding the gold mines or in townships near factories. Using the separation enforced through the Bantustans, the migratory labor system, and the hostels, the apartheid regime sought to create and deepen divisions among Blacks.

In the late 1970s the apartheid regime attempted to consolidate the homelands system by getting appointed officials to agree to declare each Bantustan an "independent" state.

Buthelezi, as the chief minister of the KwaZulu Bantustan, opposed the independence measures. In addition, he called on the apartheid regime to release Mandela from prison and stated his opposition to many apartheid laws. In collaboration with the outlawed ANC, he set up Inkatha as a cultural organization of Zulus.

But by 1979 Buthelezi had fashioned Inkatha into a political organization opposed to many of the tactics, strategies, and political



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Part of hostel complex in Soweto, South Africa. The African National Congress charges that police and Inkatha are inciting hostel dwellers to attack township residents.

perspectives of the ANC. He openly condemned the ANC's continuation of the armed struggle against the regime and projected himself to governments around the world as a moderate alternative to the revolutionary perspectives of the ANC. He has campaigned among South Africa's imperialist allies to drop economic and political sanctions aimed at the international isolation of apartheid.

As the struggle against apartheid deepened over the past decade and the homeland system began to crumble, Inkatha, the KwaZulu police, and the South African government took steps to halt the growth and impede the functioning of the rising trade unions and democratic organizations such as the South African Youth Congress and the UDF in the Natal region.

Over the past several years, these forces attacked neighborhoods and anti-apartheid meetings and protest events. While political activists were often targeted, many died who were not involved in any organization.

Inkatha became intertwined with the Bantustan administration. Today, Buthelezi heads up the KwaZulu police, Inkatha, and the Bantustan administration.

Claiming a membership of 1.7 million, Buthelezi says Inkatha is the largest Black organization in the country. Included in this figure are KwaZulu civil servants and students registered in KwaZulu schools — all of whom have no choice but to be Inkatha

A mid-September press statement by the ANC leadership explained that the growing together of the Bantustan administration and Inkatha had resulted in the disintegration of schools, social services, and law enforcement in the area. The police "do not act impartially or professionally," conduct raids, and fail to arrest perpetrators of the violence.

Schools and social services have "become instruments of war in the hands of Inkatha and the KwaZulu government," the statement said.

#### Becomes political party

With the unbanning of organizations and lifting of some restrictions on political expression last February, the ANC has been able to function openly for the first time in 30 years. As the ANC began negotiations with the government of President F.W. de Klerk and launched a campaign to recruit 1 million members, Buthelezi moved to try and broaden the appeal of Inkatha by reorganizing it as a political party open to all races — the Inkatha Freedom Party. He is attempting to break out of the traditional base of the organization and win adherents across the country.

At the heart of Buthelezi's opposition to the ANC and his collaboration with the apartheid regime is his rejection of the Freedom Charter. The charter, adopted by a broadly representative congress of individuals and organizations opposed to apartheid in 1955, is the guiding programmatic document of the national, democratic revolution in South Africa.

"South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white," the charter reads. It details demands for the establishment of a nonracial, democratic government, based on the principle of one person, one vote. In order to overcome the legacy of apartheid and to achieve realization of political, civil, and democratic rights, "the national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans,

shall be restored to the people," the charter says.

Through the struggle to achieve these aims and eliminate apartheid, a true nation can be forged for the first time — overcoming the divisions between Blacks and whites and within the Black population that have been created and perpetuated by the regime.

#### Zulu nationalism

Instead of this course, which rejects the notion of replacing white minority rule with "Black majority rule," Buthelezi advances a Zulu nationalist perspective. He argues that since Zulus constitute the largest population group in the country, Inkatha should be given a central role in negotiations over the political settlement to apartheid.

Asked in a recent interview about the possibility of a separate Zulu state in South Africa, Buthelezi said, "The Zulu nation was not created by the homelands policy and KwaZulu was not a construct of apartheid, unlike all the other homelands put together."

"There is no way that Zulus will stop being Zulus," he said. "That is actually something that we should learn lessons about when we see how the situation is dissolving in Russia, with Lithuania seeking identity and so on, that you cannot ignore the cultural roots of people."

In current talks with the government, the ANC has proposed the formation of an interim government that would organize elections to a constituent assembly, based on one person, one vote.

Flowing from his collaborationist policies in relation to the apartheid state and his Zulu nationalist perspective, Buthelezi rejects a governmental system based on one person, one vote, and advocates negotiations between established political organizations to form a government based on a federation of regions.

De Klerk also opposes the ANC demands for a constituent assembly and says the current government must stay in power while political organizations fashion a new constitution. Many conservative and right-wing organizations support Buthelezi's plan for a central government based on a loose federation of regions.

#### 'Fighting apartheid, not Inkatha'

Despite the sharp political differences between the ANC and Inkatha, the ANC leadership has said at mass rallies that "we are not fighting Inkatha, we are fighting apartheid." At a February rally of 100,000 in Durban, in the heart of Natal, Mandela told the crowd to, "throw your pangas [machetes] into the sea." Mandela has also praised Buthelezi for his calls on the apartheid regime to release the ANC leadership from prison and his stance in opposing the independence scheme for the Bantustans.

In an attempt to deescalate the violence in Natal, various organizations and unions formed "peace committees" in which members of all organizations could discuss grievances, rumors or cases of violence in the community, and proposals for working together. In addition strikes, protests, and rallies have been organized to focus demands on the government for a resolution of the conflict, calling for the dissolution of the KwaZulu police. The protests also condemned the role of the South African police and army in instigating conflicts in the townships that lead to violent outbreaks and their

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# Protests planned against U.S. aid to Angola contras

BY SELVA NEBBIA

NEW YORK — "There would be no war in Angola today," said Ramsey Clark, "if it weren't for U.S. financial help" to Jonas Savimbi. Clark, a former U.S. attorney general, was part of a September 24 press conference here called by the Campaign for Peace in Angola, a coalition of religious, labor, anti-apartheid, and human rights organizations.

Savimbi is the head of UNITA, a group that has been waging war against the Angolan government since 1975. In that year the Angolan people, led by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, won their independence from Portuguese colonial rule.

On September 12 the House Sub-Committee on Intelligence voted to provide UNITA with another \$80 to \$100 million in military assistance. Washington and South Africa's apartheid regime are the main sources of support for the UNITA mercenaries.

UNITA's war against the people of Angola has left more than 650,000 dead. Thousands have been maimed by UNITA terrorist actions, among them hundreds of children, said Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, who also spoke at the press conference.

Deborah Jackson, from the National Conference of Black Lawyers, announced a demonstration called by the Campaign for Peace in Angola to protest Washington's aid to UNITA.

"This funding will contribute to the further maiming and killing of innocent children, women, and men in Angola," explains the call by the Campaign for Peace. "Because Savimbi's attacks are primarily directed at the civilian population, Angola has one of the highest amputee rates in the world."

"The people of Angola desperately need peace," said Clark. "The American people need to demand an end to the U.S. funding of UNITA."

The action will take place on September 28 across from the United Nations. The date coincides with the opening of the UN Summit on Children.

Among the endorsers for the September 28 action are the African National Congress, African and Caribbean Resource Center, All-African People's Revolutionary Party, All Peoples Congress, Haïti Progrès, War Resisters League, Rev. Ben Chavis, Ramsey Clark, the *Guardian* newspaper, Brooklyn Assemblyman Roger Green, Socialist Workers Party, National Conference of Black Lawyers, and Workers World Party.

# Auto workers' pact with General Motors will allow more reductions in work force

BY JEFF POWERS

DETROIT — The tentative agreement between the United Auto Workers (UAW) and General Motors closely follows the pattern set in contracts negotiated by the union and GM, Ford, and Chrysler, the big three automakers, over the past 10 years. The auto giants have been allowed to greatly reduce their work forces through plant closings, speed-up, job combinations, and out sourcing in exchange for giving a section of the union membership limited income security.

The new agreement promises to be no different. Under it, GM will permanently shut the four plants it has already idled and close at least three more facilities by 1992.

GM has said that it plans to shrink its hourly work force from 270,000 to 210,000 employees over the next three years. This is slated to happen if the economy stays relatively healthy. If a recession occurs, thousands more GM workers will be laid off.

GM management wanted labor peace. Having already lost 10 percent of its domestic market share to other automakers since 1985 it calculated that a strike — even a short one — would be too costly. GM had reason to be concerned. A six-day strike this past August at their AC West parts complex in Flint had crippled production, eventually idling 20,000 workers. And 12,800 Ford workers in Canada went on strike at the expiration of their contract over wages and more time off.

This led GM to part with more money for income security programs than it had in the past. According to both the union and the company, this could total \$4.2 billion over the life of the agreement.

GM management claims that the new agreement means that the company will financially take care of all of its current employees regardless of whether they remain working for the corporation or not.

#### **Unemployment benefits**

Under the proposal, supplementary unemployment benefits for laid-off workers will be extended by 26 or 52 weeks, depending on seniority. Layoffs are also theoretically limited to 36 weeks for the three-year duration of the agreement. However, the proposal explains, if there is no work after the layoff ends, each worker will be placed in the jobs bank at full wages.

More money is to be given to retirees. Monthly payments are to increase from \$1,400 to \$1,800 and lump sum bonuses are to be given. More money is to be set aside for early buyouts for any worker wishing to take one.

GM set aside \$350 million to provide benefits for those workers laid off from the plants that it had previously idled. This money is to be used for more supplementary unemployment benefits credits and retirement buyouts.

All of the income security provisions in the new contract are only good for three years. There is no guarantee that any of them will be renewed under the next agreement.

The new contract grants a small wage increase of 3 percent for the first year and two lump sum payments of 3 percent each for the following two years. Cost-of-living increases are to remain the same and the company will continue to pay medical benefits. Early in the negotiations the company had demanded union members pay a portion of their medical benefits.

#### Union-company safety committees

The new agreement deepens "jointness" provisions, which tie the union to the company. This will be done through programs like joint union-company safety committees that will determine whether or not work areas are safe. This is a particularly important

question because of the increase in injuries and deaths over the past few years.

Big fights have been waged at the Lake Orion plant and other plants over whether or not workers have the right to shut down the line if they believe the jobs are not safe. Under the new agreement workers do not have that right. Only the joint union-management safety committee does.

A new attendance policy is to be implemented. Under it any worker missing 20 unexcused days in a 12-month period will be fired. Only prior agreement from a supervisor will guarantee that an absence will be excused.

The joint committees will also be in charge of discipline for attendance. A joint union-management committee will fire a worker for violating the contract's attendance policy not management.

More emphasis will also be placed on profit sharing in this agreement.

Union officials told UAW members to keep working at GM after the last contract expired even though it took them several days to come up with a tentative agreement. This was a violation of the long standing UAW and union policy of "no contract, no work."

Most workers believe that this agreement, which will now be voted on by the ranks, will easily pass. The UAW hopes to have the ratification process finished by September 30

Following that, the contract will be presented first to Ford and then to Chrysler. Ford management has already said that it "can live with the agreement."

At Chrysler, the smallest of the big three, things appear to be different. Management there is balking at aspects of the agreement, claiming to be too broke to pay for them. At this point UAW officials are saying that they will not let Chrysler break the pattern. It remains to be seen where negotiations will end up.

Jeff Powers is a member of UAW Local 174 in Detroit.

# Machinists at picket lines and rallies declare, 'No labor peace' at Eastern

Continued from front page

were outraged at the undemocratic restric-

These, and other picket lines, rallies, and strike support events continue across the country as Eastern's difficulties mount.

Shugrue is attempting to hold the airline together until a buyer can be found. Talks have been taking place between management at Eastern and Northwest Airlines since early summer, but no firm proposal has yet been announced.

As long as the strikers continue to press their fight through maintaining the pickets and strike outreach work, Eastern's only other option is to liquidate — something the airline's creditors have rejected so far because they would receive 10 cents on the dollar, or less, on monies owed them.

#### New round of ads

In order to keep Eastern afloat and attract more passengers Shugrue has launched another round of costly prime-time TV and full-page newspaper advertisements. The number of passengers has fallen far short of what is needed to stem the \$1 million- to \$3 million-a-day losses at the airline since the strike began. Eastern's passenger loads have now dropped to only 40 percent to 50 percent

of capacity. Hoping to attract more business, Shugrue is pouring millions of dollars more into adding wide business-class seats on each airplane, offering them at coach fares.

In addition to the continuing strength of the strike, the airline has been hit with a new round of allegations that it is not meeting safety regulations. In a 60-count indictment this past July Eastern became the first airline in the United States to be criminally charged with safety violations. Eastern management has maintained that the violations occurred before the strike began March 4, 1989.

The New York *Daily News* reported September 25 that the Justice Department is investigating claims by workers that maintenance logbooks and computer entries are still being falsified by managers.

In a letter sent to Shugrue and the Brooklyn U.S. attorney, a mechanic at Eastern wrote that even the plane used as a backdrop in Eastern's TV ads featuring Shugrue was forced to abort two takeoffs shortly after the commercial was filmed. Other flights departed without required inspections and repairs to engines, landing gear, cargo doors, and oil caps.

Machinist officials continue to receive reports from Eastern mechanics, who crossed the picket line but are now quitting, that

\$150,000 by Dec. 1

violations continue at New York's La Guardia Airport, and in Miami and Atlanta.

In a mid-September agreement with the government's Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. Continental Holdings, formerly Texas Air Corp., said it would assume liability for up to \$680 million to cover Eastern's underfunded pension plans. Apayment of \$80.5 million has already been made and some \$500 million in collateral is backing the rest of the pension fund deficit.

Texas Air controlled Eastern until Lorenzo was ousted and replaced by Shugrue. The extent of the liability assumed by Continental Holdings is an indication of how far Continental had been drawn into trying to cover strike-related losses at Eastern.

Eastern paid \$30 million into the plan, which will come from funds now held by the bankruptcy court in escrow.

#### **Boston and Detroit rallies**

Eastern strikers and their supporters held a New Orleans-style funeral procession for Lorenzo — complete with a jazz band and a coffin — at the Eastern terminal at Boston's Logan Airport September 22.

Attended by 150 strikers, members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, American Postal Workers Union, United Auto Workers (UAW), International Union of Electronic Workers, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, a band of six musician union members led a march to the terminal.

Many of the strikers, with "No Lorenzo" and "Boycott Eastern/Continental" T-shirts, went into the terminal and stood facing the crowd of Eastern passengers waiting for their luggage.

In the largest indoor picket and rally at the Detroit Metropolitan Airport since the strike began some 200 unionists celebrated the victory over Lorenzo and chanted, "No contract, no peace!"

Members of the UAW from nearly a dozen locals, steelworkers, electrical workers, meat-packers, striking Greyhound workers, and other unionists joined Eastern strikers for the September 22 action.

"After 19 months on the picket line this is a tremendous turnout, a massive show of solidarity," strike coordinator Tom Barker told the rally.

"Eastern is on the ropes. With rallies like this we will finish off Eastern. If the Machinists don't return to Eastern, nobody will," he said.

The rally also heard greetings from Greyhound strike leader Bob Rucker, Detroit AFL-CIO President Ed Scribner, and Michigan AFL-CIO official Tom Turner.

Mark Friedman from Detroit; Eastern strikers Maggie Pucci and Bob Turcotte in Boston; and Eastern striker Jeff Miller in Miami contributed to this article.

### Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund

The Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund drive to raise \$150,000 is behind schedule. The fund was launched in early August to provide the resources needed to finance the outreach work of the socialist movement. The goal is to collect \$75,000 by October 15, the halfway point in the drive. Currently \$25,917 of pledges totaling \$140,622 has been paid. We should be at \$45,000 by October 1.

The fund is essential to help ensure that the socialist newsweekly, the Militant; the Spanish-language monthly Perspectiva Mundial; and the French-language quarterly Lutte ouvrière are able to continue covering the events in the Middle East, the strike by Eastern Airlines workers and other labor fights, and struggles of working people and farmers internationally from South Africa to Cuba.

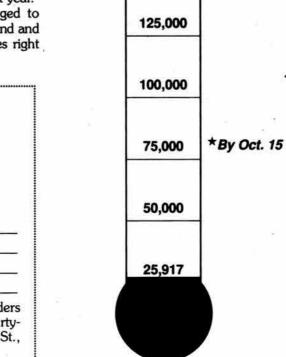
The fund will also help publish a new issue of the Marxist magazine **New International**, which will contain the resolutions adopted by the Socialist Workers Party at its last

convention.

And contributions to the fund will help field international reporting teams like the ones the **Militant** sent to South Africa, Panama, El Salvador, and Cuba in the last year.

All of our readers are urged to make a contribution to the fund and begin paying on their pledges right away.

#### Socialist Workers **Party-Building Fund** ▶I pledge: \_\_\_ \$1,000 \$500 \_\_ \$250 \$100 \_\_ other to the fund. Enclosed is \$\_\_ Name\_ Address \_ City \_ \_Zip\_ State\_ Send checks or money orders to: Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund, 406 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



# 'Campaign belongs to those who fight'

#### Socialist speaks at Washington farm worker rally

#### BY CARMEN MAYMI-O'REILLY

GRANGER, Washington — "The socialist campaign belongs to those who fight," said candidate Matt Herreshoff at a rally of 400 farm workers here as he launched his campaign for U.S. Congress in the 4th District. This area includes the Yakima Valley, where farm workers have been involved in dozens of strike struggles in recent years.

Herreshoff was speaking at a rally September 16 organized to celebrate Mexican Independence Day and the fourth anniversary of the founding of the United Farm Workers of Washington State. The Socialist Workers Party candidate was introduced by UFWWS President Tomás Villanueva as "someone who is well-known to everyone

### Farm worker leader backs socialist ticket

Below is a statement by Manuel Cortez, cochairperson of the Washington State Socialist Workers Campaign. Cortez is third vice-president of the United Farm Workers of Washington State.

They say that ferocious animals do not attack unless they are cornered. That's what the working people are right now. They push us until we are cornered, and now we are fighting our way out. The Socialist Workers campaign is part of the fight.

The rich will always be against us. They use their money to buy the power of the government. We don't have money but we have each other, if we only realize how many of us there are and how few of them. In the end, we will prove more powerful than their money. This campaign will help show working people it can be done!

because he's been a consistent supporter of our fight."

Addressing the rally in Spanish, Herreshoff said, "This is a good time to launch this campaign because today more and more of us — the oppressed and exploited of the world — are standing up for our rights." He pointed to the struggle of the Mohawks in Canada, the freedom fighters in South Africa, and the strikers at Eastern Airlines.

"Today this struggle is sharpest in the countries of the Arab East," Herreshoff said. "The U.S. government desires and is preparing a war against the Arab people, a war to defend the oil companies and their profits." He pointed out that "every Democratic and Republican politician, from Jesse Helms to Jesse Jackson, supports Washington's war moves.

"But the rich and their government fear the response of working people to a U.S. war," he said. "This is because we in our great majority do not want this war.

"We fight the bosses on the picket line and we often fight against their government in the streets," Herreshoff said. "Let's not give up even one field of battle.

"We could struggle more effectively if the labor movement organized a political party to unite working people and bring the full power of our unions to every struggle against the bosses, their government, and their parties," he said.

The socialist candidate was well received. Arturo Treviño, second vice-president of the UFWWS, sees the SWP campaign "as a way to advance the struggle. We need people who represent our interests at all levels of government."

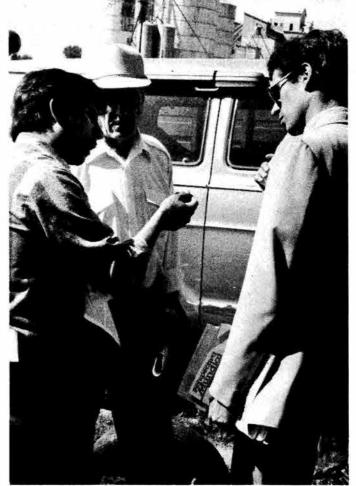
Bill Nicacio, Jr., a young farm worker activist, said he likes the campaign because it is "different, unlike the Democrat and Republican campaigns. This campaign is committed to the interests of working people." Nicacio especially likes the idea of "using the system — the electoral arena and public events — to defend workers' rights."

Dora Barreras, a UFWWS board member,

sees this campaign as a "way to show that workers of all nationalities can come together to defend our rights."

A dozen farm workers took campaign literature to distribute to their coworkers. Two asked to help set up campaign meetings, and another arranged a radio interview for Herreshoff.

On September 18, the SWP held an open house at its Seattle campaign headquarters to announce its full slate of candidates in the November elections in Washington. The ticket includes Robbie Scherr for U.S. Congress in the 7th District, Stuart Crome for Seattle city council, Sybil Perkins and Ken Kawakubo for state senate, and Elizabeth Bourse and Eric Simpson for state representatives. Manuel Cortez and Kathy Wheeler are state campaign chairpeople.



Militant/Elizabeth Bours

SWP candidate Matt Herreshoff (right) talks with farm workers in Washington State's Yakima Valley.

#### Georgia candidates back Eastern strike

#### BY ELLEN BERMAN

ATLANTA, Georgia — The Socialist Workers Party launched its expanded statewide campaign with a news conference outside the Eastern Airlines terminal at Hartsfield International Airport here on Septembr 4.

For several months, the SWP candidates for governor and lieutenant governor —

Maceo Dixon and Elizabeth Ziers — have been campaigning in support of the strikers at Eastern and Greyhound bus company, in opposition to racist attacks, and against U.S. military intervention in the Arab East.

Standing near the entrance where Eastern strikers have their daily picket line, Dixon introduced the full slate of socialist candidates: Chris Remple for attorney general, Miguel Zárate for secretary of state, Virginia O'Riley for agriculture commissioner, Daryl Drobnic for insurance commissioner, Derrick Adams for labor commissioner, Tyrome Hollins for school commissioner, Jeff Jones and Michael Brown for public service commissioners, George Williams for DeKalb County Commission, Dorothy Kolis for U.S. Senate, and Adjua Adams, Robert Braxton, and Miesa Patterson for U.S. Congress. "Each of these candidates is active in workers' unions and works a blue-collar job for a living," reported the Atlanta Voice, a weekly Black community newspaper.

"I'm the only candidate for governor to support the Eastern strike and walk the picket line," said Dixon. "The others have not. In fact, most support Eastern." Dixon is an aircraft cleaner at Northwest Airlines and a member of the International Association of Machinists (IAM).

Patterson, a garment worker, is running for U.S. Congress in the 6th district, where many Eastern strikers live. She is running against Newt Gingrich, the Republican incumbent, who has angered many strikers with his antilabor views. The IAM has endorsed the Democratic Party candidate in the race.

At a "town meeting" sponsored by Gingrich, Patterson took the floor to explain the importance of the Eastern strike and the fight for the right to picket. "In their strike against Eastern, IAM members have had to face off not only against the company, but against the courts, the cops, and the government," she explained.

"Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have done anything to support the Eastern strikers. We need labor itself running candidates for office, not so-called friends of labor." The struggles of working people today point toward the need for a labor party, Patterson said, "to build solidarity among all workers against the employers' constant drive to lower our standard of living."

A number of Eastern and Greyhound strikers attended the meeting. They are paying close attention to the race in the 6th C.D. and the ideas of the socialist campaign were warmly received. "The Republicans hate labor," said one striker. "The Democrats use

### Socialists speak out on U.S. war moves

#### Continued from front page

"The U.S. war in the Arab East is not our war. Young people in the United States have many fights here at home: for jobs, for education, and for decent health care."

In St. Louis, YSA member David Rosenfeld is the SWP candidate for Congress in Missouri's first district. And Michael Ziouras, who recently joined the socialist youth organization, is running for state senate in Utah. Three members of the YSA are running on the SWP ticket in Connecticut. And YSA member Elizabeth Kealy is running for lieutenant governor of Alabama.

Opposition to U.S. intervention in the Middle East was the lead on a story in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* September 14 announcing the Ohio socialist campaign. When SWP gubernatorial candidate David Marshall stopped in the lunchroom at the LTV steel mill where he works that day, coworkers had already posted copies of the article on the wall, underlining the names of the candidates they knew.

#### Working class most threatened

"Party members say President Bush has made it clear that he is willing to go to war in the region," said the newspaper, "a prospect they say would threaten America's working class the most."

The article was highlighted by a fourcolumn photo of Marshall and lieutenant governor candidate Margaret Husk, along with SWP candidates Jay Rothermel, Martha Pettit, and Scott Ware, at the board of elections preparing to file as write-in candidates. Maurice Williams and Ardella Blandford are also on the ticket for secretary of state and state auditor.

On September 22 Marshall participated in a "Town Meeting on the Persian Gulf Crisis" sponsored by a dozen peace, religious, and political groups. Speaking to the 100 in attendance during the discussion period, he called for "broad, united action to protest the coming war"

"The U.S. government has used the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait as a pretext to impose its

bases in the Middle East and deepen its control in the region," the socialist said. "Labor, youth, and Blacks are those who will pay the terrible price that Washington will exact for this war." Campaign supporters distributed a statement calling for an end to the food blockade of Iraq.

In Alabama, the Birmingham News wrote, "Saying the U.S.-led operation in the Persian Gulf is not in the interests of working people and farmers, the Birmingham-based Socialist Workers Party plans to field candidates for the U.S. Senate, the 6th U.S. Congressional District, governor, and four other statewide offices." John Hawkins, a coal miner,

#### "Labor, youth, and Blacks are those who will pay terrible price Washington will exact for this war."

is heading the SWP ticket there.

Chris Remple, SWP candidate for Georgia attorney general, was able to speak out against U.S. war moves at a public hearing on "200 years of the penitentiary system" in Atlanta. The central campaign promise of his Republican opponent is to build more and bigger prisons.

#### The real criminals

"The real source of crime in this country is the daily theft by the rich, who own everything, of what we, as workers, produce," Remple said. "This society does not belong to us, but to a tiny handful of the very wealthy. The real way we can protect our interests is to fight against U.S. war moves in the Arab East and give our support to the Eastern strikers."

SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in Georgia's fifth district, Adjua Adams, was interviewed at length about her opposition to the U.S. intervention on a television show, "Community Close-up."

In Minneapolis, SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota Wendy Lyons participated in a public speak-out against U.S. intervention in the Arab East. "I don't believe a single GI should die to protect oil interests," Lyons, a packinghouse worker, told the audience of 100 at the Minnesota Church Center. The meeting was sponsored by a coalition of peace organizations in the Minneapolis—St. Paul area.

Craig Honts, the socialist candidate for lieutenant governor of the state, was interviewed by the Albert Lea Tribune about his views on the U.S. war moves. Honts "paralleled the current Middle East crisis with Vietnam," the paper said.

#### New Zealand socialists

Socialists campaigning for election in Canada and New Zealand are also speaking out against the war moves in the Arab East.

"New Zealand should stay out; Washington and London should get out!" read a statement released by Russell Johnson and Ruth Gray, candidates for New Zealand Parliament from Auckland Central and Panmure.

No New Zealand naval vessels have been sent to the Middle East, but the government has offered Washington a military medical team and use of some training aircraft. The National Party has called for the country to get involved alongside the United States, Britain, and Australia.

In Wellington the window of the Pathfinder Bookshop, which featured a display on the Middle East that included the candidates' statements and articles from the Militant, was smashed on September 5. Speaking out against the attack, Communist League candidate in Wellington Central Janet Roth also condemned anti-Arab vandalism directed against the Wellington Islamic Centre that took place after Washington began its military build-up.

Jon Hillson from Cleveland, Ellen Berman from Atlanta, Paul Mailhot from Salt Lake City, Utah, and George Buchanan from New Zealand contributed to this article.



Militant/Dave Wulp

Sales at Salt Lake City protest against war moves in Middle East. *Militant* supporters launched eight-week drive to win 7,800 new readers September 22.

# Subscription Drive GOALS

DRIVE GOALS	Total	Militant	Perspectiva Mundial	New Int'l	Lutte ouvrière
UNITED STATES	WELL.	75/225	52.0		170
Atlanta Austin, Minn.	198 90	135 60	20 18	40 10	3 2
Baltimore	155	115	12	25	3
Birmingham, Ala.	170	138	10	20	2
Boston	235	140	45	35	15
Brooklyn	345	190	70	60	25
Charleston, WV	135	95	13	25	2
Chicago Cleveland	280 160	185 115	45 18	45 25	5 2
Des Moines, Iowa	180	135	25	18	2
Detroit	180	140	10	25	5
Greensboro, NC	115	85	13	15	2
Houston	145	98	25	20	2
Kansas City Los Angeles	125 400	88 200	10 115	25 80	2 5
Miami	200	110	30	40	20
Morgantown, WV	155	115	8	30	20
New York	520	275	120	95	30
Newark, NJ	340	180	60	70	30
Oakland, Calif.	190	125	35	25	5
Omaha, Neb.	120	85	18	15	2
Philadelphia Phoenix	185 95	115 55	38 28	30 10	2
Pittsburgh	130	105	5	18	2
Price, Utah	80	55	13	10	2
Salt Lake City	185	130	23	30	2
San Francisco	175	110	35	25	5
Seattle St. Louis	190	115	48	25	2
St. Louis Twin Cities, Minn.	205 225	162 175	10 17	30 30	3
Washington, DC	150 .	100	20	23	7
Cincinnati	17	12	2	3	
Las Vegas, Nev.	5	5			(•:
New Haven, Conn. Portland, Ore.	14	10 10	2	2	F29
	1.0	10		2	1.00
Other U.S. U.S. TOTAL	6,105	3.968	962	979	196
AUSTRALIA	50	30	12	6	2
BRITAIN	22925	60	a	224	
Cardiff	58	40	2	15	1
London Manchester	174 62	113 45	15 1	42 15	4
Sheffield	100	70	9	20	1
Other Britain		5			
BRITAIN TOTAL C <i>ANADA</i>	394	268	27	92	7
Montréal	210	75	35	35	65
Toronto	155	100	25	25	5
Vancouver	105	65	15	20	5
CANADA TOTAL	470	240	75	80	75
FAEROE ISLANDS FRANCE	10 40	10 10	0 5	0 5	0 20
CELAND	43	35	2	5	1
NEW ZEALAND	***		- 40		-
Auckland Christchurch	110 60	91 51	10	8	1
Wellington	70	61	2 2	6	1
Other N. Z.	10	9	ī	Ĭ.	*
N. Z. TOTAL	250	212	15	20	3
PUERTO RICO SWEDEN	15 80	2 43	12 25	1 10	2
Int'l teams	50	10	34	5	1
Other Int'l	7,492	4,826	1,157	1,202	307

# Sales campaign to win new readers off to solid start

# Goal is to come out of first week of the drive on schedule.

#### BY RONI McCANN

The international circulation drive to win 7,800 new readers of the socialist press got off to a solid start September 22. The goals in the eight-week drive are challenging, and over the next week supporters around the world will be organizing to put the drive on schedule by gearing up to reach workers, young people, and farmers with the *Militant*.

The aim of the sales campaign is to sign up 5,000 new subscribers to the *Militant*, 1,225 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 325 to *Lutte ouvrière*, along with selling 1,250 copies of the Marxist magazines *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale*. To do this supporters have mapped out action plans for the next eight weeks so they can reach hundreds of workers on the picket lines, on the job, in working-class communities, in the countryside, and on campuses.

An organized subscription campaign where supporters double their efforts for several weeks is the best way to expand the regular readership of the *Militant*. Next week a scoreboard with the first week's results will be printed.

As the U.S. government, backed by other imperialist powers, steps up its war moves in the Middle East, the *Militant* plays an indispensable role in getting out the truth. And supporters are putting the drive to win new readers to the press at the center of their political work — from building opposition to the U.S. intervention and solidarity with the Eastern Airlines strike to speaking to workers and youth through the socialist election campaigns.

#### New readers in Watsonville

Supporters in the San Francisco Bay Area kicked off the drive with a team to Watsonville, California, to meet cannery and farm workers. During the three-day effort 11 people subscribed to *Perspectiva Mundial*. Outside the Green Giant food processing plant there several workers bought copies of the Spanish-language magazine and one worker subscribed to the *Militant*.

Supporters from Montréal, Toronto, and Boston headed up to Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia, located on Canada's Atlantic Coast. There thousands of coal miners were recently on strike. At the first portal sale on the morning of September 25, 63 miners bought copies of the *Militant* at the Phalen and Lingan mines in Glace Bay and two workers subscribed.

Militant supporters who are members of industrial unions are discussing and taking goals for the eight-week drive. In Birmingham, Alabama, supporters aim to win 67 new readers in the industrial unions and on the job. So far a union rail worker, a miner, and three steelworkers have signed up to get the Militant. Supporters also set a goal of winning 12 new readers who are Eastern or Greyhound strikers.

#### Saturday sales

The subscription effort got a good start in many cities and towns on the first Saturday of the drive. In Omaha, Nebraska, supporters won six new readers going door-to-door in working-class neighborhoods and making calls to subscribers urging them to sign up again. Two readers in Lincoln agreed to renew and supporters drove there to visit them and pick up the subscriptions.

In Ames, Iowa, five participants in a Central America solidarity conference subscribed to the socialist press. Supporters from Des Moines also went to Perry for a barn sale that drew some 75 farmers and farm family members. A sales team to Coon Rapids met migrant workers detasseling com stalks for a big seed producer. One bought a copy of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

In Atlanta supporters won four new readers on Saturday and three Eastern strikers bought copies of the *Militant* on the picket line. A striker in Boston decided to renew his subscription at the "funeral procession" for the "new" Eastern held there September 22.

In New York supporters ventured out in the rain and set up Pathfinder literature tables underground in the subway stations. By the end of the day they had sold nine subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, four to the *Militant*, and one copy of *New International*. Supporters in Austin, Minnesota, signed up two new readers at a "Take Back the Night" event September 22 in support of women's rights in nearby Rochester and one new reader at a farm worker camp north of Austin.

Militant supporters in Morgantown, West Virginia, traveled to Winchester, Virginia, where hundreds of workers from Jamaica just arrived for the apple harvest. They get paid next Saturday and supporters are planning to return. Two picked up copies of the Militant.

Supporters in Chicago made a trip to Aurora, Illinois, where some 800 workers labor in the fields and in food processing plants. Four workers bought copies of the *Militant* and supporters plan to go back soon.

Many supporters are finding that it is worthwhile to get back in touch with those interested in the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, or *Lutte ouvrière* who either don't have the money to subscribe immediately or want to read a copy first. In the coalfield community of Graysville, Alabama, five people invited supporters to return or call them back so they could subscribe.

#### Fund launched to help get the 'Militant' to readers in Pacific

#### BY BRENDAN GRAINGER

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — Supporters of the *Militant* in Australia and New Zealand have launched a fund-raising effort to defray the costs of shipping and mailing the paper to working people and youth throughout the Pacific and the Philippines. Their goal is to raise NZ\$1,500 (US\$930) by the end of November.

The Pacific Fund helps get the *Militant* around in the South Pacific where workers' earnings are low and the shipping rates from New York, where the paper is published, are high. The region includes small island countries such as Polynesia and Melanesia as well as the Philippines with 65 million residents. It also includes the French-speaking colonies of New Caledonia and Tahiti.

To raise the needed funds, supporters will be appealing to *Militant* readers in the area, holding a raffle, and organizing other fundraising events.

Readers have already contributed \$200 in response to a renewal letter sent to all subscribers explaining the Pacific Fund. *Militant* supporters are also selling raffle tickets on the job and at political events to win a compact disc player. Each ticket has an explanation of the fund on the back.

In addition to helping offset the costs of the *Militant*, the Pacific Fund aids in getting out the French-language magazine *Lutte ouvrière*, the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder books in the region.

# Defend British coal miners!

An international panel of trade unionists speaks out in solidarity with the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain: Nancy Walker, member of the Machinists union in Vancouver, British Columbia, has first-hand report on miners' strike in Cape Breton, Canada; trade unionists from Britain active in defense of the NUM; Mary Zins, member United Mine Workers of America, active in building solidarity with 1989–90 Pittston Coal strike.

**Sat., Sept. 29, 7:30 p.m.** Pathfinder Bookstore, 191 7th Ave. (at 21st St.) Tel: (212) 675-6740.

\_ Militant Labor Forum

# International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant

October 1990

# Appeal to the United Nations to act on Mark Curtis' behalf

#### Introduction

The two-and-a-half-year campaign to win justice for Mark Curtis is becoming known and has won support the world over. More than 8,000 unionists, political activists, defenders of human and democratic rights, officials, political prisoners, and others from several continents have endorsed the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, and many others have supported or contributed to this fight.

Curtis, a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, is serving a 25-year prison sentence on a frame-up rape and burglary conviction. Since the beginning of this year, the defense committee has made significant progress in its effort to win United Nations action on behalf of Curtis.

Kate Kaku, a leader of the defense committee and Curtis' wife, has attended four important international meetings organized by the United Nations this year. She was accompanied by supporters from several countries on these trips.

The meetings were the 46th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland, in February; the Conference on Human Development in Copenhagen, Denmark, in June; the 42nd session of the UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in Geneva in August; and the Eighth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders in Havana, Cuba, also in August.

In this issue we reprint Kaku's address to the August UN subcommission meeting and the dossier prepared by the defense committee for the congress in Havana. Together these two documents provide readers with an overview of the issues and stakes in Curtis' fight against his frame-up by Des Moines police.

We are also reprinting opposing briefs in a lawsuit for financial damages against Curtis by Keith and Denise Morris, the parents of the woman he allegedly assaulted in March 1988.

The aim of the lawsuit has been to break Curtis and Kaku and get them to drop their fight for justice. Recently the target of the court action was widened to include the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

From the beginning the proceedings in this lawsuit have been stacked against Curtis and have prevented him from having his day in court.

Prior to trial in Iowa district court in July, presiding Judge Arthur Gamble ruled that Curtis' criminal conviction on frame-up charges in September 1988 established his guilt in the current lawsuit. The decision effectively narrowed the scope of the trial to deciding the size of the financial judgment against Curtis.

Just days before the trial began, the Iowa state attorney general intervened in the suit to prevent Curtis, who is incarcerated in Fort Madison, Iowa, from appearing at the trial in Des Moines. Judge Gamble ruled in the attorney general's favor.

On August 3 Judge Gamble concurred with a motion by the Morrises' attorney, Stuart Pepper, and ordered defense committee treasurer Julia Terrell to testify about the committee's finances. The defense committee, set up to publicize the injustice done Curtis and raise funds for his legal defense, has raised thousands of dollars since 1988 for its efforts.

The judge said he wanted to determine if Curtis has access to the committee's funds, thus making them available as part of a financial award to the Morrises. Curtis and Kaku, both packinghouse workers, have no financial assets to pay an award ordered by the court.

The defense committee, which has not been a party in the lawsuit, is opposed to Judge Gamble's ruling. The committee retained Mark Bennett, a noted Iowa constitutional rights attorney, who filed a motion in Iowa District Court August 23 asking for a protective order barring intrusion into its affairs and finances. A memorandum in support of this motion was filed by Bennett in the court and is reprinted in this issue.

The motion details why the defense committee and its financial records are irrelevant to the lawsuit against Curtis and why Judge Gamble's order is unconstitutional and violates the defense committee's right to privacy and the right to freedom of association. Sworn statements were submitted



Militant/Susan Berman

Kate Kaku, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis' wife, at an August meeting of a UN subcommission on human rights in Geneva, Switzerland. She appealed to the UN to act against human rights violations in the United States.

by Terrell and by John Studer, the defense committee coordinator, providing background for Bennett's motion.

In her statement Terrell said, "Mark Curtis has absolutely no decision-making power with regard to the activities or financial allocations of the committee. Mark Curtis has absolutely no control over how the funds of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee are spent. The funds of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee are not an asset of Mark Curtis personally. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is under no legal obligation to provide any direct financial assistance to Mark Curtis.

"I believe that compelled disclosure of information sought," Terrell concluded, "would subject members, supporters, and contributors of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee to continuing threats, harassment, and reprisals."

Studer's statement outlined the attacks against the defense effort by Keith Morris, who smashed the storefront windows of the defense committee's office in 1988, and the smear and disruption campaign against the Curtis defense effort by an antilabor outfit known as the Workers League.

Studer's statement also documents how the Workers League and its international affiliates have visited, intimidated, and pressured committee supporters to revoke their backing.

Pepper filed a brief September 4 opposing Bennett's motion. It is also reprinted here.

On September 28 arguments on the motion for the protective order will be heard before Iowa District Court Judge Peter Keller.

Text of Kate Kaku's August 24 address to the United Nations Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, held in Geneva, Switzerland.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

We are gathered to discuss crucial human rights questions in the world today: individual persecution, the administration of justice and human rights of detainees, repercussions of violations of human rights on families, and the right to a fair trial.

There is a long history of government violations of justice and the right to a fair trial of trade unionists, civil rights

fighters, and political activists in the United States: from Sacco and Vanzetti, Italian immigrant trade unionists executed for their beliefs; to Joe Hill, a Swedish immigrant, trade union organizer, and song writer who was hanged for his activities; to the Rosenbergs, framed up on espionage charges and executed; to Puerto Rican independence fighters like Lolita Lebrón and Rafael Cancel Miranda; to Eddie Carthan, the first Black mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, who was framed up on fabricated murder and assault charges, sentenced to prison, and released only after a successful international defense campaign.

Unfortunately, this pattern continues to the present.

Unjustly imprisoned today is Leonard Peltier, an indigenous political activist who was framed up on charges related to the deaths of two agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in South Dakota, when U.S. military forces carried out an armed assault against the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.

Leonard has been held in prison unjustly for 14 years and will not be eligible for parole until after the year 2000.

Johnny Imani Harris has been in prison for 20 years. In 1970 he was the first Black to move into an all-white section of Birmingham, Alabama. Racist police conspired to frame him on false charges of rape and robbery.

He received five consecutive life sentences. While in prison, he was framed again on charges of murdering a guard and given the death penalty. He came within 36 hours of being electrocuted. He spent 14 years on death row. Last year the murder conviction was overturned.

Numerous advocates of Puerto Rican independence are imprisoned in the U.S. for their activities. Two examples are Alejandrina Torres, serving 35 years, and Juan Segarra Palmer, sentenced to 65 years.

Four trade union activists, members of the United Mine Workers of America, were framed and jailed for their participation in the 1984–85 strike against the union-busting A.T. Massey Coal Co. — Donnie and David Thornsbury, Arnold Heightland, and James Darryl Smith.

My husband Mark Curtis is also a victim of the abuse of human rights.

Mark was a packinghouse worker, trade unionist, and political activist who was framed up on fraudulent charges of rape and burglary by the Des Moines, Iowa, police.

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#### Continued from previous page

He is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and former national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

He was involved in defending immigrant workers who were arrested and threatened with jail or deportation by the U.S. government.

Increasing numbers of workers from Mexico, Central America, Southeast Asia, the Arab East, and other areas are coming to the United States. Many work in factories, including in the meat-packing industry in the Midwest, and some lack the necessary legal papers. Racism and anti-immigrant prejudice are used by the employers to divide the work force. Mark worked to unite workers in his union — the United Food and Commercial Workers.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service raided the Swift meat-packing company in Des Moines on March 1, 1988. With the collaboration of the company, the INS arrested one Salvadoran and 16 Mexican workers. These arrests were in violation of the amnesty program enacted into law by the U.S. Congress. Many of the arrested workers had applied for legal status under this program, some with Mark's help, because he was bilingual.

After three days of unprecedented ferment at the factory, including a work stoppage in my husband's department, Mark spoke out in Spanish at a large public meeting called to protest the raid. Within hours, he was falsely framed up, jailed, and beaten by the police.

He was stripped naked, handcuffed, and interrogated without the benefit of an attorney. While still handcuffed, he was beaten by the police who called him a "Mexican-lover, just like you love those coloreds."

My husband's cheekbone was shattered requiring 15 stitches to close the wound. He was thrown into a bare cement cell overnight without any clothing, water, or toilet facilities

His trial was a mockery of the right to due process of law. The central witness against my husband was a Des Moines police officer, who testified he caught Mark in the act. Mark was denied the basic right to cross-examine his accuser. The judge barred the defense from telling the jury that the arresting officer had been suspended from the police force for lying and fabricating evidence in a previous case. Mark's beating at the hands of the police and the fact that Mark was targeted illegally by the FBI for playing a leadership role in the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador were kept from the jury.

The alleged assault victim's description of her attacker was completely different from my husband. Even the state's own forensics expert had to admit there was no physical evidence to tie Mark to any attack.

Mark's coworkers testified that Mark was with dozens of them in a restaurant at the time the alleged victim swore she was attacked. Nonetheless, the judge refused a defense motion to instruct the jury that this evidence of legal alibi was grounds for an acquittal.

Mark was convicted and, under Iowa's mandatory sen-

tence law, ordered to serve 25 years.

Since his imprisonment, Mark has faced a continual battle to maintain his human rights — to be politically active, to collaborate with his defense committee, and to be in contact with the world.

He has been denied literature in Spanish, had to join with other prisoners to fight for more than a year to get the writings of Nelson Mandela into the prison library, and has faced numerous efforts by prison authorities to victimize him because of his political activities. After helping lead the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization, and being elected its secretary, he was abruptly transferred to a new prison.

The most recent development in my husband's fight for justice is an ominous one for human rights. A suit has been filed demanding massive punitive damages against Mark and me. Because we are both packinghouse workers without assets, and my husband makes 24 cents an hour in prison,

# Funds urgently needed for Curtis defense effort

More than \$10,070 has been raised toward a \$20,000 fund launched by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. The fund will cover the expenses of recent defense committee delegations that brought Curtis' fight for justice to United Nations human rights meetings in Geneva, Switzerland, and Havana, Cuba.

Kate Kaku, Curtis' wife, and John Studer, both leaders of the Des Moines, Iowa-based defense committee, headed the delegations, which won important new support. Other participants included supporters from Britain, Canada, France, and Sweden. Through these efforts Curtis' struggle is becoming known among supporters of human and democratic rights around the world.

Your contributions are urgently needed and should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Tax deductible contributions can be made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc.

the court has authorized a probe into the contributors and members of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, which was formed to raise funds and mobilize public support for the effort to win his freedom. It threatens the potential seizure of all funds donated for his defense.

This attempt to intrude into the finances of the committee is a frontal challenge to the right to free political association, and to be safe from harassment or reprisals by governmental or private groups because of protected and privileged political activity. It threatens human rights organizations all over the world with being stripped of their funds if they are effective in combatting human rights violations.

Mr. Chairman,

I ask the Subcommission to initiate an investigation into these violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

I know that if the United States had signed the UN Covenant and Optional Protocol on Human Rights, it would be easier for you to act. Nonetheless, I urge you to use your authority to help bring an end to these violations of democratic rights and to aid us in strengthening human rights in the United States and around the world.

Thank you.

Dossier prepared by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee for the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Havana, Cuba, August 27–September 7.

Mark Curtis is a political and union activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who was framed up by police because of his participation in efforts to win freedom for one Salvadoran and 16 Mexican coworkers illegally arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in a raid at the Swift meat-packing company where they all worked.

The raid took place March 1, 1988. On March 4, there were a number of public activities to protest the arrests and to demand freedom for the 17 immigrant packinghouse workers. There was a work stoppage at the plant. There were

#### Curtis' criminal trial was filled with violations of U.S. Constitution and the United Nations' Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

two public meetings. At the second meeting Curtis spoke out in Spanish urging greater union participation in efforts to free the 17 in order to strengthen the unity of the union.

Within three hours of speaking out Curtis was arrested and falsely charged with rape and burglary. Curtis was denied access to an attorney and was beaten severely by the police in the city jail smashing his cheekbone, while they called him a "Mexican-lover, just like you love those coloreds."

Curtis had been previously targeted by police agencies in the United States because of his legal political activities. He was the subject of illegal surveillance by the Federal Bureau of Investigation because of his leadership involvement in the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. He had set up a socialist literature table on the lawn of the police department in Clive, Iowa, a suburb of Des Moines, while participating in a protest against police racism there.

Curtis' trial was filled with violations of the U.S. Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. He was denied the right to confront and question, Joseph Gonzalez, the arresting police officer who was the central witness against him. He was barred from informing the jury that this officer had been suspended from the police force for lying and fabricating evidence in a previous case.

Though Curtis presented uncontradicted witnesses that he was with dozens of coworkers in a pub discussing the day's protest events at the time the alleged victim claimed that she was attacked, the judge rejected a defense motion to instruct the jury that this evidence of legal alibi was sufficient to acquit Curtis.

Curtis was convicted and sentenced to 25 years in prison, even though a juror presented an affidavit stating that she believed Curtis was innocent and had been pressured into voting against her conscience.

Since being sentenced, Curtis has faced continual efforts by prison authorities to harass and victimize him because of their knowledge of his past political activity and his exercise of his political rights in prison. These and other conditions in the Iowa prison system are violations of the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, Code for Law Enforcement Officials, and other instruments which are the topic of the Eighth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.

#### I. The United Nations Declaration Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment and the Case of Mark Curtis

A. The UN Declaration Against Torture and Other Cruel,

Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment begins by stating, "Any act of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, or punishment is an offence to human dignity and fundamental violation of human rights."

- 1. On the night of his arrest, Mark Curtis was taken into a booking room in the rear of the Des Moines police station, stripped naked, handcuffed behind his back, and brutally beaten by police officers. His cheekbone was fractured and his face gashed, requiring 15 stitches to close. His body was heavily bruised from blows from police billy clubs. As the police beat him, they called him a "Mexican-lover, just like you love those coloreds."
- Severely injured, Curtis was taken to the hospital to have his face stitched up. He was returned to city jail, thrown into a bare cell overnight, naked, with no bed, no bedding, no water, and no toilet facilities.
- B. The Declaration against Torture states that "Each state shall systematically review interrogation methods and arrangements for the custody and treatment of prisoners with a view to preventing cases of torture or other cruel, degrading treatment or punishment," and "Wherever there is reasonable ground to believe that an act of torture has been committed, competent authorities shall carry out an impartial investigation..."
  - No independent or impartial review of the brutal beating of Mark Curtis has been conducted. The Des Moines police department conducted its own internal review and issued a complete exoneration of the officers involved.
  - 2. Because of complaints concerning the department, an independent examination of the procedures of the Des Moines police department was conducted at this time by the Des Moines Civil Service Commission. The results of the commission's investigation were published in the Des Moines Register on Nov. 18, 1988, in an article beginning "The Des Moines Civil Service Commission issued a stinging report Thursday accusing the police department of widespread racism and sexism."
  - 3. The commission found the internal review procedure of the police department was a rubber stamp for improper conduct and brutality by department members. The Des Moines Register reported: "The commission said testimony from police officers showed that the internal investigators tried to 'clear the supervisor'" and "lacked credibility." It concluded, "How can a citizen who lodges a complaint have any faith that it will be dealt with fairly, impartially, and independently?"
  - 4. There is documented evidence of a pattern of police brutality by the Des Moines police department. Alfredo Alvarez, then chairman of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission, told the City Council on May 12, 1988: "We do know these beatings occur." In particular, complaints of police brutality had focused on what had become popularly known as the "elevator ride," which described the police practice of stranding suspects in an elevator between the floors containing the booking department and the jail's holding cells and beating them. These complaints became so widespread that the police department was forced to respond, installing a camera in the elevator. Since the brutalization of Curtis occurred after the camera was installed, it took place in a concealed booking room on the first floor.
  - 5. The Des Moines police department has been the subject of legal action and government probes due to continuing allegations of brutality, racism, and discrimination against women, including within the department. The Des Moines Register reported on July 22, 1988, that a lawsuit brought by former officer Deborah Lynch revealed that "two Des Moines police officers donned white Ku Klux Klan hoods in 1984 in an attempt to scare a black officer" and there were cases where women officers were "sexually harassed daily."
  - 6. As a result of these developments, a special study of the Des Moines police department was conducted by the U.S. Justice Department, which concluded that there had been significant instances of racist and sexist behavior and physical brutality.

#### II. The United Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officers and the Case of Mark Curtis

- A. The UN Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officers states: "All those who exercise police powers shall respect and protect human dignity and uphold the human rights of all persons." These precepts were violated by police authorities in the case of Mark Curtis.
- B. The code states, "No law enforcement official may inflict, instigate, or tolerate any act of torture or other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment," and "Law enforcement officials shall ensure the fui. protection of the health of persons in their custody and take immediate action to secure medical attention whenever required."
  - The politically-motivated beating of Mark Curtis by officers of the Des Moines police department, sub-



Ramón Custodio López, president of the Honduran Rights Commission, in Geneva. He is an endorser of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee as are many others who participate in UN human rights forums.

sequently covered up by an internal departmental review found by independent sources to be clearly self-serving, violates the code.

 Following a beating which opened a gash requiring 15 stitches and a fractured cheekbone, the decision of the police department to place Curtis in a cell with no toilet, bed, or any other facilities, demonstrates a complete absence of concern for his health and medical condition.

#### III. The United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners and the Case of Mark Curtis

- A. The brutal beating of Mark Curtis on the night of his arrest by Des Moines police officers, prior to any proceeding to determine innocence or guilt, violates Section C of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, which covers prisoners under arrest or awaiting trial.
  - The rules state that "unconvicted prisoners are presumed to be innocent and shall be treated as such."
     The beating of Curtis, while calling him a "Mexican-lover," violated his right to the presumption of innocence guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution and the UN Rules
  - The rules state that "an untried prisoner shall be allowed to inform his family of his detention immediately after arrest and communicate with and receive visits from family and friends."
    - a. While Curtis was held without access to counsel and beaten in the city jail, his friends and neighbors were calling the jail to inquire where he was. They were told the police did not know where he
    - b. Curtis' family and friends were denied access to him until the next day. When they arrived at the jail to post bail and see him, the officer at the desk laughed and said, "Do you have \$30,000 on you?"
- B. Curtis was convicted in a trial containing numerous violations of his human and legal rights and was unjustly sentenced to 25 years in prison. He began serving his sentence in November 1988. Since being incarcerated, he has continued to be politically active, to attempt to publicize discriminatory conditions in the prisons, and to maintain contact with the outside world. For these reasons he has suffered violations of his human rights and the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, which state, "The following rules are to be applied without discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political opinions, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."
  - Curtis has suffered numerous restrictions on his contact with family, friends, political associates, and others outside the prison.
    - a. The rules state, "Prisoners are to be allowed regular contact with family and friends, both by correspondence and personal visits," and that "the prisoner should be encouraged and assisted in cultivating relations with persons or extra-institutional agencies conducive to his rehabilitation and best interests after release."
      - · An ad hoc committee was established to raise

funds for legal and public efforts to win Curtis' freedom. This committee, the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, was established by family members, friends, fellow union members, and others concerned with human and political rights.

 The committee attempts to keep Curtis informed about efforts to win his freedom, defend his access to information and political activity in prison, and to vindicate him in public opinion.

- In February 1990 prison authorities at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory, where Curtis was held, adopted a policy barring Curtis and other prisoners from receiving any photocopied material from family, friends, or other correspondents. All photocopied material sent to Curtis by family members and the defense committee to keep him informed of efforts concerning his case were then barred from him. All photocopied material was likewise barred from every inmate in the facility.
- Curtis received letters and communications from concerned individuals and organizations around the world. Some of this correspondence was not in English. Curtis is fluent in Spanish as well as English. Prison authorities barred Curtis from receiving all materials in languages other than English, ruling that these communications were "coded material," and therefore "contraband."
- 2. The Standard Minimum Rules state that "Prisoners are to be kept informed of current events and important news." As part of the prison authorities' ban on foreign-language materials, Curtis was denied copies of publications in Spanish, including the monthly Perspectiva Mundial and the Cuban weekly Granma. He was denied periodicals in French and Swedish, which contained articles concerning him.

The Standard Minimum Rules state that "Every institution shall maintain for the use of prisoners a library with recreational and instructional books."

- a. In Anamosa Curtis was elected secretary of a political and educational organization, the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization. The organization voted to order 12 books on political themes, including works written by Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, Che Guevara, Piri Thomas, Maurice Bishop, and Thomas Sankara. The books were ordered and received in 1989. The organization requested prison authorities allow the books to be made available to all inmates through the prison library.
- Prison authorities did not act on this request for one year. Finally, they agreed to the books being

# Curtis' beating at the hands of police and subsequent denials of his rights in prison violate UN rules on treatment of prisoners.

- in the library. Within an hour, all the books were checked out.
- c. Prison authorities then ordered the books revoked from the library, and instructed the officers of the organization to confiscate them, removing them from circulation. The officers complied under threat of persecution.
- d. Following a week of protest and a groundswell of requests for the books, prison authorities reversed themselves again making them available in the prison library.
- Curtis has faced efforts by prison authorities to victimize him for his expression of his political opinions while incarcerated.
  - a. One day following the victory in placing the 12 books in the prison library, Curtis was given a major disciplinary report by prison authorities on concocted charges of gambling. He was denied the right to present witnesses on his behalf, and, on the testimony of a guard, was found guilty. He was removed by prison authorities from his elected post as secretary of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization, had his typewriter and cassette player removed, was moved to a more restrictive section of the prison, and had a permanent disciplinary report entered in his record to weigh against him in future parole considerations.
  - b. Curtis was censored by prison authorities from speaking at a regular monthly meeting sponsored by the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization. The February 1990 meeting coincided with Black History Month. Curtis was selected by the organization to deliver closing remarks at the meeting.
    - Curtis had previously written numerous articles on prison conditions and other matters for the *Militant*, a national newsweekly published in New York.

- The prison warden sent Curtis a letter challenging the facts in and protesting the political content of the articles he had written.
- Based on this letter, prison authorities informed Curtis that he must submit his remarks for censorship. If he failed to do so, he was informed that he would be given a major disciplinary report.
- Because of his political contact with the outside, Curtis was gagged and threatened with reprisal.
- c. Curtis was arbitrarily transferred to the John Bennett Correctional Unit, a medium security facility under the direction of the Iowa State Penitentiary, the state maximum security prison.
- d. Since being transferred, Curtis has continued to suffer discriminatory treatment for exercise of his political opinions.
  - After a visit with Curtis, his wife Kate Kakuleft \$1.35 behind. Visitors bring change to buy soda and snacks.
  - Curtis volunteered the change to the prison guard at the completion of the visit, explaining it had been left inadvertently. The guard informed Curtis it was "no problem."
  - Five hours later, Curtis was handed a major disciplinary report charging him with possession of the change. If convicted, he was threatened with transfer to the maximum security state prison.
  - Only following a public outcry did prison authorities inform Curtis that the disciplinary report was withdrawn.

IV. Additional Violations of the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners in Iowa and the United States as have come to light through the Mark Curtis Case.

- A. The rules state, "As far as practicable, every prisoner is to be allowed to satisfy religious needs by attending services and possessing books of observance and instruction."
  - While incarcerated in Anamosa, Curtis became familiar with the situation of indigenous Native American inmates attempting to win the right to practice their Native religion.
  - Prison authorities denied Native American prisoners the religious articles necessary to the practice of their religion. They were denied an eagle feather, important in their religious ceremonies.
  - Because of opposition from prison authorities, Native American prisoners filed a federal lawsuit to win the right to practice their religion.
  - One of the newspaper articles Curtis was disciplined and censored for writing was coauthored with a Native American inmate concerning the lawsuit to win religious rights.
- B. Prison inmates in Iowa suffer growing prison overcrowding. Curtis was originally assigned to cells designed to hold one inmate but currently hold three, in violation of the Standard Minimum Rules, which states that "cells for individuals should not be used to accommodate two or more persons overnight."
  - The Dec. 3, 1989, Des Moines Register stated, "Normally, this concrete block cell would hold one inmate. But now three metal bunks are stacked atop another, dominating the 11-by-12 foot room."
  - Referring to the prison Curtis was held in, the Register reported, "The reformatory is the state's biggest prison, holding about 1,100 inmates. But the limestone-walled institution is built for only 840."

# Legal briefs outlining arguments on request for protective order

Below is the legal memorandum submitted to Iowa district court by attorney Mark Bennett in support of the motion by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee for a protective order barring intrusion into its affairs and finances.

Compelling the wholesale disclosure of private association affiliations and activities, including records relating to membership, solicitation and expenditure of funds is an unconstitutional infringement of First Amendment and privacy rights and goes far beyond any limited disclosures that plantiffs' litigation interest may justify.

#### A. Introduction

The plaintiffs are seeking sweeping and comprehensive discovery from a nonparty witness Julia Terrell. Julia Terrell is the treasurer of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Indeed, plaintiffs have subpoenaed "all financial records and books concerning Mark Curtis Defense Committee Continued on next page

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from its inception to the present." This subpoena as well as the extensive and intrusive discovery the plaintiffs seek to engage in is overbroad and constitutionally impermissible. Neither Julia Terrell nor the Mark Curtis Defense Committee's members, endorsers, supporters, or contributors may constitutionally be compelled to disclose information relating to their political associations, affiliations, activities, membership, solicitation or expenditure of funds. This important associational information is protected from discovery by their constitutional First Amendment privilege.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee was founded in March 1988. Since that time it has grown continuously. It now has over 8,000 endorsing members. It is composed of individuals and organizations who have come together voluntarily to work to reverse the criminal conviction of Mark Curtis and, thus, win his freedom. It is in this sense the Mark Curtis Defense Committee is but one of many similar ad hoc defense committees that have historically been mobilized when citizens have united to fight a perceived social wrong or legal injustice.

The constitutional privilege embodied in the freedom of association of the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution which Julia Terrell asserts here, too, has long-standing historical recognition. Indeed, the U.S. Supreme Court has "repeatedly found that compelled disclosure, in itself, can seriously infringe on privacy of association and belief guaranteed by the First Amendment.

Numerous other federal and state courts have applied these First Amendment constitutional principles to invalidate compelled disclosure of associational information in a wide variety of contexts, including discovery among private litigants, as is the case here.

For the reasons set forth below, the wholesale disclosure of private associational affiliation and activities sought by the plaintiffs would unconstitutionally infringe Julia Terrell's and other members of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee's freedom of association in privacy interest. Therefore, the court should grant Julia Terrell's motion for protective order. Before turning to the merits of Julia Terrell's asserted constitutional privilege, an observation about the procedural posture in which this issue arises is in order and addressed initially in the following subsection.

#### B. The fact that the constitutional First Amendment privilege arises in the context of discovery among private litigants in no way undermines its applicability here.

Plaintiffs' counsel, Stuart Pepper, while pontificating on the frivolous nature of the First Amendment constitutional privilege asserted here, harangued that no such privilege could attach because it arose in the context of discovery among private litigants. This notion has been specifically rejected by the California Supreme Court in Britt v. Superior Court of San Diego County/(1978). The court observed that:

As we have seen, the source of the constitutional protection of associational privacy is the recognition that, as a practical matter, compelled disclosure will often deter such constitutionally protected activities as potently as direct prohibition. This chilling effect on First Amendment rights is not diminished simply because disclosure is compelled pursuant to a litigation-oriented discovery order. Indeed, in some respects, the threat to First Amendment rights may be more severe in a discovery context, since the party directing the inquiry is a litigation adversary who may well attempt to harass his opponent and gain strategic advantage by probing deeply into areas which an individual may prefer to keep confidential.

In Adolph Coors Co. v. Wallace (California, 1983), the court also rejected this distinction when it noted:

We are persuaded by our reading of the Supreme Court's opinion in NAACP v. Alabama, ex rel. Patterson and the California Supreme Court's pronouncement in Britt v. Superior Court, that a private litigant is entitled to as much solicitude to its constitutional guarantees of freedom of associational privacy when challenged by another private party, as when challenged by a government body.

Therefore, it is clear that the fact that this issue arises in the posture of private litigation does not minimize Julia Terrell's entitlement to assert her First Amendment constitutional privilege.

#### C. Compelling the wholesale disclosure of private association affiliations and activities is an unconstitutional infringement of First Amendment and privacy rights.

The sweeping and comprehensive discovery sought by the plaintiffs compels Julia Terrell to detailed scrutiny and examination of a universe of information concerning her private association, affiliation, and activities with the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, including compelled revelations concerning the utmost confidential financial information. This sweeping and intrusive discovery should be swiftly curtailed when examined in light of Julia Terrell's First Amendment constitutional privilege, which shrouds her as well as the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. It cannot be seriously argued that the First Amendment does not protect against the compelled disclosure of political association and

 Telephone discussion among Stuart Pepper, the Hon. Arthur Gamble, and the undersigned held on Thurs., Aug. 9, 1990.



Militant/Margaret Jayko

Julia Terrell, treasurer of Curtis defense committee

beliefs. In *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976), the court held that detailed compelled financial disclosure of minor and independent political parties would be unconstitutional in violation of the First Amendment where the party may show a "reasonable probability" that the compelled disclosures will subject those identified to "threats, harassment, or reprisals." The holding in *Buckley* was further expanded by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Brown v. Socialist Workers' 74 Campaign Committee* (1982), when the U.S. Supreme Court extended the rationale of *Buckley* to include financial information concerning the recipients of campaign disbursements.

In discussing this First Amendment constitutional privilege, this Supreme Court, in *Brown v. Socialist Workers' 74* Campaign Committee, observed:

The Constitution protects against the compelled disclosure of political associations and beliefs. Such disclosures "can seriously infringe on privacy of association and belief guaranteed by the First Amendment." "Inviolability of privacy in group association may in many circumstances be indispensable to preservation of freedom of association, particularly where a group espouses dissident beliefs." The right to privacy in one's political associations and beliefs will yield only to a "subordinating interest of the state [that is] compelling," and then only if there is a "substantial relation between the information sought and [an] overriding and compelling state interest."

Likewise, the California Supreme Court in Britt v. Superior Court of San Diego County (1978) observed:

As both the United State Supreme Court and this court have observed time and again, however, First Amendment freedoms, such as the right of association, "are protected not only against heavy-handed frontal attack, but also from being stifled by more subtle governmental interference." Indeed, numerous cases establish that compelled disclosure of an individual's private associational affiliations and activities, such as that at issue in the instant case, frequently poses one of the most serious threats to the free exercise of this constitutionally endowed right.

As the U.S. Supreme Court emphasized nearly 20 years ago in NAACP v. Alabama (1958), the seminal decision in this field: "It is hardly a novel perception that compelled disclosure of affiliation with groups engaged in advocacy may constitute [an] effective... restraint on freedom of association.... This court has recognized the vital relationship between freedom to associate and privacy in one's associations.... Inviolability of privacy in group association may in many circumstances be indispensable to preservation of freedom of association, particularly where a group espouses dissident beliefs."

Extending the U.S. Supreme Court holding in *Buckley v. Valeo* to the compelled disclosure of information relating to disbursements of campaign funds, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Brown v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Committee* held:

Moreover, appellants seriously understate the threat to First Amendment rights that would result from requiring minor parties to disclose the recipients of campaign disbursements. Expenditures by a political party often consist of reimbursements, advances, or wages paid to party members, campaign workers, and supporters, whose activities lie at the very core of the First Amendment. Disbursements may also go to persons who choose to express their support for an unpopular cause by providing services rendered scarce by public hostility and suspicion. Should their involvement be publicized, these persons would be as vulnerable to threats, harassment, and reprisals as are

contributors whose connection with the party is solely financial. Even individuals who receive disbursements for "merely" commercial transactions may be deterred by the public enmity attending publicity, and those seeking to harass may disrupt commercial activities on the basis of expenditure information. Because an individual who enters into a transaction with a minor party purely for commercial reasons lacks any ideology commitment to the party, such an individual may well be deterred from providing services by even a small risk of harassment. Compelled disclosure of the names of such recipients of expenditures could therefore cripple a minor party's ability to operate effectively and thereby reduce "the free circulation of ideas both within and without the political arena." ("Any interference with the freedom of a party is simultaneously an interference with the freedom of its adherents.")

We hold, therefore, that the test announced in *Buckley* for safeguarding the First Amendment interests of minor parties and their members and supporters applies not only to the compelled disclosure of campaign contributors but also to the compelled disclosure of recipients of campaign disbursements.

Lower federal and state courts have also relied upon the constitutional values articulated in *Buckley v. Valeo* and its progeny in limiting compelled disclosure by organizational information by way of discovery.<sup>2</sup>

In examining a party's claim of First Amendment privilege, it is clear "that the litigant seeking protection need not prove to a certainty that its First Amendment rights will be chilled by disclosure. It need only show that there is some probability that disclosure will lead to reprisal or harassment." Black Panther Party v. Smith (District of Columbia 1981). Here, Julia Terrell submits that her affidavit and the affidavit of committee coordinator John Studer inclusively establish that "there is some probability that disclosure will lead to reprisal or harassment." This is a common sense conclusion given the repeated history of harassment and reprisals against not only the Mark Curtis Defense Committee but the Socialist Workers Party as well. Indeed, as evidenced by both the Studer and Terrell affidavits, the Federal Election Commission as recently as this month extended the exclusion for disclosure under Brown v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Committee for the Socialist Workers Party.3

Furthermore, the protective order sought should be granted because the plaintiffs have failed to describe with specificity the relevancy of the information sought. The context of similar First Amendment privilege as asserted here, the D.C. Court of Appeals held:

The interest in disclosure should also be carefully examined. Several factors are relevant in conducting this examination. First, courts must consider the relevance of the information sought. The interest in disclosure will be relatively weak unless the information goes to "the heart of the matter," that is, unless it is crucial to the party's case . . . Mere speculation that information might be useful will not suffice; litigants seeking to compel discovery must describe the information they hope to obtain and its importance to their case with a reasonable degree of specificity.

Black Panther Party v. Smith. In this regard, the court in Adolph Coors Co. v. Wallace (California 1983), held:

The tribunal considering a private plaintiff's discovery request should demand a heightened showing of "relevancy" once a constitutional challenge for withholding the information has been lodged. This enhanced scrutiny is appropriate since civil lawsuits could be misused as coercive devices to cripple, or subdue, vocal opponents.

Here, not only have the plaintiffs failed to establish the discovery sought goes to the "heart of the matter," rather they engage in speculation that the committee is an asset of Mark Curtis despite denials from Curtis and the committee itself. The affidavits of Julia Terrell and John Studer conclusively establish that the funds of the committee are not an asset of Mark Curtis. The plaintiffs have failed to identify any information which they allege would establish that the assets of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee are assets of Mark Curtis available to him for response in damages.

Furthermore, courts have consistently held that such discovery should not take place when the litigant has other alternative sources for the information. The information

Continued on Page 11

<sup>2.</sup> In addition to validating disclosure of organizational information on First Amendment grounds, other courts have done so based on the constitutional right to privacy. [In] Igneri v. Moore, (N.Y. 1989) court held that provisions of New York's Ethics and Government Act requiring county committee chairpersons of private political parties and their spouses to file annual financial disclosure statements violated plaintiff's right to privacy regarding confidentiality of their personal financial information. Clyburn v. News World Communications, Inc., et al, (1987) [says] court has the power and the discretion to limit discovery to mitigate the possible invasion of privacy of nonparty witnesses in a case. Nonparty witnesses have privacy rights under the First and Fourth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

While the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and the Socialist Workers Party have separate identities, it is true that the vast majority of the members of the SWP in the United States are also endorsers, members, supporters, or contributors to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

# Cuban newspaper reports frame-up

The Granma Weekly Review, published in Havana by Cuba's Communist Party, carried a feature September 9 on Mark Curtis' fight for justice. A front-page headline, "Mark Curtis is no ordinary prisoner; or how justice is denied in the United States," called attention to the article on page 11 of the paper.

A photo of Curtis at his 1988 criminal trial accompanied the piece and the caption provided information on how to contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines, Iowa.

The interview with Curtis referred to by the author was published in the April 1990 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language monthly published in New York, and was carried in the May 15 issue of *Trabajadores*, the newspaper of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions.

The article mistakenly says Curtis' trial ended in a hung jury. The jury in fact convicted Curtis. It was on this basis that the judge sentenced Curtis to 25 years in state prison. He was confined in the state penitentiary at Anamosa, Iowa, until May 1990 when he was transferred to John Bennett State Prison in Fort Madison, Iowa.

Granma Weekly Review is distributed internationally and is published in English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese. We reprint the article below.

#### BY CINO COLINA

On the evening of March 4, 1988, in Des Moines, Iowa, a 29-year-old man was arrested and charged with raping a woman on the porch of a house. According to police officer Joseph Gonzalez, the arrested man was discovered at the scene of the crime with his pants down.

Mark Curtis, the man in question, a labor leader and political activist working at a Swift packing plant, was sentenced to 25 years and confined to Anamosa state penitentiary. As of September 1988 he is prisoner number 805338-A.

That, in short, is the official story.

While Mark's case bears a close resemblance to a second-rate thriller where retribution is exacted for the offense committed against a woman, there's a whole array of facts pointing to a clear violation of the law and, needless to say, a citizen's most elemental rights on the part of the U.S. government.

Mark Curtis used to be a leader of the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and belongs to the Socialist Workers Party. On March 4, the day the alleged rape occurred, he attended a rally in support of 17 coworkers (16 Mexicans and one Salvadoran) arrested days earlier by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Later on, he went with a group of friends to the Los Compadres bar where he was drinking at the time said event took place, according to the victim's testimony.

Taken to the Des Moines police station, he was ordered to undress and they tried to force a confession out of him. He didn't have an attorney present when he was questioned. One of the police agents called Curtis a "Mexican-

Frame-up of Mark Curtis
by Margaret Jayko

This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter

for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumpedup rape charges. 71 pp., \$5.00.



Order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.) lover, just like you love those coloreds." Then they began roughing him up. He was knocked down and they began punching and kicking him while he was on the floor. One cut in his cheekbone required 15 stitches.

Neither on the victim's clothes or body were there any vestiges of Curtis' semen or pubic hair. Although the woman, allegedly raped on the floor, had dog hairs on her clothes, none were found on Curtis' clothing. Neither did the description of the attacker match that of Curtis.

About 10 people were with Curtis at the bar at the time the crime took place; the judge omitted telling the jury that the testimony of Brian Willey [with Curtis at the bar] would have been sufficient to clear Curtis; a jury member was withdrawn before the deliberations just because he was familiar with some of the places mentioned at the trial; and the judge overruled the allegation that another jury member was seen talking to the woman's family during a trial recess. The trial then ended in a hung jury.

Curtis' attorneys were prevented by the judge from questioning agent Joseph Gonzalez about his being suspended from the police force on grounds of brutality and for having lied in an earlier case. They were similarly prevented from introducing evidence about the Des Moines police attack on Curtis and the evidence pointing to the espionage the CISPES and SWP leader had been subjected to was left out of court.

Once confined to prison, Curtis didn't stop



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Photo of Curtis at 1988 criminal trial featured with article by Granma Weekly Review

working as an activist, even after he was transferred and lost some of his prison privileges on grounds of gambling in prison.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is waging an intense campaign, which included sending a delegation to the 46th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights.

The decision of the Iowa Court of Appeals of April 1990 was branded by the defense committee as a blow to the political rights of all U.S. citizens, on grounds that it undermined the basic rights under the Constitution and the federal laws, *Perspectiva Mundial* magazine reported.

Interviewed by this publication, Curtis declared that U.S. rulers have tried to block by every possible means any suggestion that there might be some fabricated cases in this country or human rights violations. The fact is that no investigation about human rights abuses has been made in the United Sates by any agency and any crack in that wall is a great leap forward. And then he added that the magnitude of human rights violations in the United States is not just at an individual level, but instead the rights of entire peoples have been violated.

Apart from Curtis' rights having been violated, the main problem is that similar cases can be repeated in the United States, and not just because of the stand taken by a given judge or a jury's shortcomings, but because of the prohibition of the alleged culprits to freely express themselves, or being made to sit on the dock because of their political feelings and convictions.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is intent on continuing its struggle until the sentence is revoked. But . . . is this the only such case?

# Legal briefs argue protective order

Continued from Page 10

sought from Julia Terrell was subject to examination by the plaintiffs in the deposition of Mark Curtis, and for the reason that Mark Curtis is an alternative source for the information, compelled disclosure from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee is not only unconstitutional, but inappropriate because of the existence of alternative sources.

#### D. Conclusion

Plaintiffs Motion for a Protective Order by Non-Party Witness Julia Terrell should be granted. Julia Terrell has clearly met her showing under Buckley v. Valeo, Brown v. Socialist Workers' 74 Campaign Committee, and their progeny that the information Julia Terrell possesses is comfortably within the cloak of First Amendment constitutional privilege. The plaintiffs' attempt to assault this First Amendment privilege by way of a discovery fishing expedition into well-charted First Amendment waters should be summarily curtailed. Furthermore, because the plaintiffs have failed to allege requested discovery with any degree of specificity, and also have alternative sources for the information sought, the protective order should be granted for these independent grounds as well.

Mark W. Bennett Attorney for Julia Terrell

Below is the brief by attorney Stuart Pepper opposing the motion for a protective order.

Plaintiff resists Motion for Protective Order by nonparty witness Julia Terrell and states:

- 1. That plaintiff is not interested in obtaining the names of donators to the Mark Stanton Curtis Defense Committee, although many individuals have, at least in the beginning of the campaign, gladly furnished the names of contributors and supporters to the public and media, notably the Detroit City Council and Ed Asner, among others.
- 2. That the court has already ruled that plaintiffs are entitled to take the deposition of Julia Terrell for the purpose of determining if she possesses assets that defendant can pay to the plaintiffs.
- 3. Thus, the only question is the scope of the plaintiffs' inquiry.

4. That the Mark Stanton Curtis Defense Committee is an ad hoc organization existing solely for the purpose of providing legal and other help to Mark Stanton Curtis, a convicted felon. 5. That the plaintiffs do not know if the creation of this committee is a shrewd calculated move to prevent the victim of defendant's crime from collecting against defendant directly. For all plaintiffs know, the committee is a subterfuge to make it appear that the defendant has no pecuniary interest in any monies. How do plaintiffs know that the defendant and his supporters are telling the truth unless they are rigorously cross-examined in depositions?

 That witness Julia Terrell's fear of harassment is unfounded and the court should ignore any allegations that any attempted window-breaking was due to this case.

That plaintiffs in no way are attempting to prevent this nonparty from associating with any persons. Plaintiffs simply want to determine if the defense committee is "the bank" for the defendant.

9. If the witness's position is granted, then any criminal can have a defense committee established which will pay all of his or her legal, living, and travel expenses and claim that the victim cannot get the money because the organization is advancing "First Amendment Rights."

Wherefore, plaintiffs resist nonparty witness's Motion for Protective Order and state that plaintiffs are acting properly and legally and want to do nothing but get to the truth of this matter concerning the issue of what assets defendant has.

Stuart M. Pepper Attorney for plaintiffs

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#### ILLINOIS

Chicago

Government Hands Off Mohawks! Defend Native Treaty Rights! Speakers: Geraldine Harte, Indian Treaty Rights Committee; Justine Smith, Women of All Red Nations; Carol Burke, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Sept. 29, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

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Socialist Cuba Today: An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: John Studer, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

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National Health Care Crisis. Speaker: Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor. Sun., Sept. 30, 7 p.m. 4071/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (507) 433-3461.

St. Paul

Canada, Québec, and the Struggle for Native Rights. Sat., Sept. 29, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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East and West Germany: What is the Drive for Unification All About? Speaker: Peter Thierjung, Militant staff writer. Translation to French and Spanish. Sat., Sept. 29, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

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South Africa: New Rise in Violence Against Anti-Apartheid Movement and the ANC's Response. Speakers: Kgati Sathegwe, African National Congress; Jay Rothermel, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers candidate for state treasurer. Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Translation to Spanish. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

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Freedom Struggle in South Africa. Sat., Sept. 29, 7:30 p.m. 9 E Chelten Ave. (Germantown and Chelton) Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: (215) 848-5044.

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Labor's Fight for Affirmative Action. Speaker: Shelia Ostrow, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Sept. 29, 7 p.m. 253 E Main. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (801) 637-

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Out of Control. Video presentation on workers' safety in oil refineries. Sat., Sept. 29, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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Grand Opening Pathfinder Bookstore. Sat., Oct. 6. Reception, 4:30 p.m.; program, 6:30 p.m. Speakers: Malik Edwards, Malcolm X Day Committee; Brian Adams, D.C. Hands Off Cuba Committee; Fritz Longchamp, Washington Office on Haiti; Steve Clark, editor, Pathfinder Press; and Janice Lynn, Pathfinder Bookstore. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$5. Tel: (202)

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World Politics Today: The Battles Ahead for Working People. Speakers: Ernie Mailhot, Eastern Airlines strike staff coordinator for International Association of Machinists Local 1018 at La Guardia Airport, co-chairperson New York State Socialist Workers Campaign; West Virginia Socialist Workers Party candidates. Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. Holiday Inn Heartof-Town, Committee Room, 2nd floor, Washington and Broad St. Donation \$5. Sponsor: West Virginia Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (304) 345-3040 or 296-

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Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay. Fri., Oct. 12, 7 p.m. 19 Terry St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: 02-692 0319.

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Hands Off Iraq. Troops Out of the Gulf. Break the Blockade. Speaker: Jonathan Silberman, executive secretary Communist League. Sat., Oct. 6, 7 p.m. 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 0222-484677.

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After the Battle. Video presentation on Cuba, Angola, and the defeat of South Africa. Fri., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 71-401

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Hands off Iraq. Troops Out of the Gulf. Break the Blockade. Fri., Oct. 5, 7 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 0742-729469.

#### CANADA

Toronto

Current Challenges in the Fight Against Apartheid in South Africa. Speaker: Peter Mahlangu, chief representative of African National Congress Mission to Canada. Sat., Sept. 29, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

#### **NEW ZEALAND**

Auckland

Fighting for Women's Rights in the 1990s. Speaker: Ruth Gray, Communist League candidate for Panmure electorate. Sat., Oct. 6, 7 p.m. 157a Symonds St. Sponsor: Socialist Forum. Tel: (9) 793-075.

#### SWEDEN

Stockholm

Launching of ANC Women's League. Speaker: Yolisa Modise, took part in launching of Women's League in South Africa in August. Sat., Sept. 29, 2 p.m. Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum.

#### ANC takes initiative to halt violence, condemns police and government role

Continued from Page 3

collaboration with Inkatha members who seek to foment disputes.

In an interview with the BBC, Gen. Bantu Holomisa, head of the Transkei homeland, rejected government claims that the violence is a result of "tribal" differences. "All the years we have been staying, living, working together, playing together with the Zuluspeaking people. So we suspected that the architects of divide-and-rule policy are coming up with this strategy in order to derail the process of negotiations."

Concerning the 800 deaths in the Transvaal region, Mandela said at an early September news conference that the conflict was 'certainly not ethnic."

"In the Transvaal where there is no ethnicity involved, hostel dwellers are killing Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos, and Shangaans." The violence is being fed "by certain elements in the right wing to derail the peace process," he added.

The attacks have been organized out of hostels where many workers from KwaZulu live. ANC leader Pallo Jordan explained to the New Nation, a weekly published in South Africa, that one method used to stir up violent attacks was the distribution of fake ANC pamphlets calling for the destruction of the Zulus and their exclusion from worksites around Johannesburg.

In a September 13 press release the ANC said, "The mounting evidence and the avalanche of allegations of police and other security personnel involvement with the vigilantes of Inkatha convinces us that we are confronting a phenomenon which has become quite familiar in the Frontline States. We witnessed it when the bandit gang of Renamo [a contra outfit in Mozambique], established, trained, and provisioned by the illegal Smith regime of former Rhodesia, first went into action."

Mandela, in a speech to an Organization of African Unity meeting, said the South African regime, which backs Renamo, is now using the organization inside South Africa. "These elements incite members of Inkatha, especially from the Transvaal hostels, to attack residents indiscriminately, irrespective of the tribe to which they belong and irrespective of the political organization with which they are associated." The September 20 statement by the ANC

notes that while the South African government is "evidently committed to political change in South Africa . . . it would prefer that change occurs on terms most favorable

Moves by the regime to send troops to townships after declaring them "unrest areas" are "designed to abridge the civil liberties of the African population" and to "repress legitimate political activity."

Requesting an early "summit with the South African government," the ANC leadership demanded the government act to "put an end to the activities of all irregular, proapartheid armed groups and forces such as the vigilantes, right-wing paramilitary formations, and the covert armed wing of Inkatha."

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# UN imposes air embargo on Iraq

Continued from front page

creasing their presence in the Gulf. Speaking before the UN on September 24, France's President François Mitterrand noted his country is sending 4,200 ground troops to Saudi Arabia. The additional troops will bring the total French forces in the area to more than 14,000. This represents the largest French military operation since the Algerian war that ended in 1962.

The Canadian government, which has already sent three warships carrying 934 troops, recently announced it would deploy a squadron of CF-18 jet fighters and up to 450 pilots and ground crew to the Gulf area.

"This is not a conflict between Arabs and the West," declared Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. "It is [Iraqi President] Saddam Hussein against the world."

On September 25 two Argentine warships left their naval base in Puerto Belgrano with a crew of 300 headed for the Gulf to join the blockade against Iraq. As they were leaving, a demonstration against Argentina's participation in Washington's war moves took place in Buenos Aires, the country's capital, at the monument to those who died in the Malvinas War of 1982.

The decision by Argentine president Carlos Menem to send troops — which makes his the first government in Latin America to send forces to the Gulf — also provoked considerable debate inside Argentina's congress.

The Polish daily *Zycie Warszawy* reported that Poland is considering sending a symbolic contingent of troops to the Gulf.

Among Middle Eastern countries, Egypt has been a leading force in supporting the U.S. war moves in the region. The first few thousand Egyptian infantry troops of a projected 20,000 landed in Saudi Arabia September 22. The Egyptian divisions are backed by 300 M-60 tanks, artillery weapons, armored personnel carriers, and air defense systems.

On September 21 the Iraqi government expelled diplomats from the United States, Western Europe, and Egypt and announced that there was "not a single chance for any retreat" from its occupation of Kuwait. Referring to the confrontation arising from the massive deployment of foreign troops in

#### Auto workers win back jobs at Lake Orion General Motors plant

BY CLEVE ANDREW PULLEY

LAKE ORION, Michigan — An arbitrator has ordered General Motors to rehire four workers. They were unjustly fired following a fight over safety conditions last February at the GM assembly plant here, just north of Detroit.

Ed Tweed and Bill Luke, two former committeepersons, along with Elmer Peters and Bill Nicholson, two line workers, returned to work August 27. The arbitrator imposed a 30-day suspension from work against Tweed and Luke; 14-day suspensions were levied against Peters and Nicholson. Those fines were deducted from six months back pay GM was forced to hand over to them.

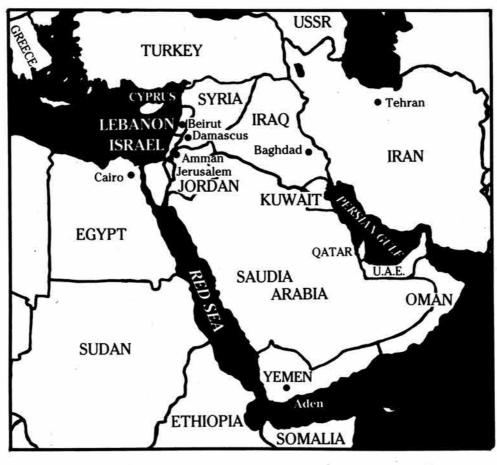
This victory was a vindication of the members and leaders of United Auto Workers Local 5960 who waged the safety fight and strengthened the union.

On the February 6 second shift about 50 workers refused to continue work in the "towveyor" area — the point where the engine and the car chassis are joined. The line was out of synchronization, creating unsafe conditions. For four hours no cars were built because management refused to admit a problem existed.

Management eventually sent the workers home and initially sought to discipline everyone. The union forced the company to back down a bit, and management then decided to dismiss four workers.

Work was interrupted for a couple of hours the next evening. Daily marches and rallies both inside and outside the plant, numbering almost 600 workers, took place. Smaller protests continued for several weeks. Donations were collected on both shifts to help out financially those who had been fired.

Cleve Andrew Pulley is a member of UAW Local 5960. He works at the GM Orion assembly plant.



Saudi Arabia, the Iraqi government termed it "the mother of all wars."

In turn, the U.S. and Egyptian governments responded by expelling a number of Iraqi diplomats in those countries.

But while the UN embargo is supposed to exclude food and medicine "for humanitarian purposes," the UN attempt to starve the Iraqi people is in full force. The Iranian government announced on September 24 the arrest of 29 people accused of trying to

"smuggle" rice, vegetable oil, and sugar to Iraq. This was Iran's first reported action to enforce the UN sanctions against Iraq.

Palestinians resident in Jordan sent a 40truck convoy loaded with food and medicines to Iraq. The convoy, which left Amman September 24, was sponsored by a group of Palestinian volunteer agencies based in Jordan. The trucks carried powdered milk, sugar, rice, pasta, and vegetables. They were expected to arrive in Iraq the next day. The convoy's organizers did not seek UN authorization for the shipment since it was meant as humanitarian aid for Iraq's children.

But UN sanctions specify that only shipments of food "to relieve human suffering" can take place and these must be reviewed and subject to approval by the UN and distributed by UN-designated bodies.

According to UN officials in New York, there has been only one exemption granted to the food embargo. The UN gave permission for an Indian ship to carry food for Indian and other Asian residents in Kuwait.

Underscoring the weight of the latest UN resolution imposing the air embargo, all 15 members of the Security Council except Cuba and the Ivory Coast were represented by their foreign ministers at the time of the deliberations and vote. The last time the foreign ministers of the five permanent members — Britain, France, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China — attended a Security Council session was in 1987 when the council approved a plan for ending the Iran-Iraq war.

Over the past few weeks reports have been made public that indicate Washington may have given the impression to Saddam Hussein that it would not interfere in the Iraq-Kuwait conflict.

In a July 25 meeting with Hussein in Baghdad, eight days before the invasion, U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie told Hussein, "We have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait." A transcript of the conversation between Glaspie and Hussein was made public by the Iraqi government and reprinted by the September 23 New York Times.

"The State Department declined to confirm the accuracy of the document," the *Times* said, "but officials did not dispute Ms. Glaspie's essential message."

### Protests called against U.S. war moves

Continued from front page

to go to war in the streets of this country."

Jim Rider, president of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6; Diane Wang, a member of Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-326; Nommonde Ngubo, of the United Mine Workers of America; and Dick Roberts, author of several books on the Middle East and a member of the United Teachers of Los Angeles, also spoke.

• Led by a contingent of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, 1,000 demonstrators participated in a protest action in Chicago September 22, demanding the U.S. troops get out of the Arab East. Among the speakers at the two rallies held before and after the march were Lydia Sánchez Branmonte, field organizer for the United Electrical Workers (UE); Frank Rosen, national vice-president of the UE; Ayoub Talhami of the Arab Organization for Peace in the Middle East; and representatives of the Progressive Students Network and the Chicago New Jewish Agenda.

Lance Corporal Frank Brandon, an activeduty marine from the Glenview Naval Air Base, spoke. He was cheered by those assembled when he said, "You have to work for peace not shoot for it."

A forum to examine "the causes and effects of U.S. military presence in the Middle East, the history of the region, and long-term consequences for the world in light of the increased U.S. militarization" has been called for September 30 at the University of Illinois.

- In Denver some 250 participated in a September 13 demonstration.
- On September 22 more than 110 people attended a Town Meeting on the Persian Gulf Crisis sponsored by a dozen Cleveland-area peace, religious, and antiwar groups.
- In Cincinnati a September 13 meeting called an October 4 action at the University of Cincinnati, a teach-in and town meeting on October 18, a city wide demonstration for November 17, as well as weekly noon pickets at the Federal Building.
- In Salt Lake City, Utah, more than 100 rallied at the Federal Building on September 15.

Rose Hulligan, an Indian activist, who has been fighting for Navajo land rights in the Big Mountain area of Arizona, stated, "Let's demand the U.S. get out of the Middle East, and the U.S. government out of Big Mountain and the Navajo Nation, and the Canadian government out of the Mohawk Nation."

- In downtown Baltimore 30 demonstrators expressed their opposition to the U.S. buildup in the Arab East, shouting slogans such as, "Bush, Bush we won't go. We won't fight for Texaco." Pickets handed out fliers to the rush-hour crowd announcing an October 6 downtown march and rally. The picket and the October 6 action are part of a series of activities sponsored by the Baltimore Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East.
- In Portland, Oregon, a September 21 forum titled "The Middle East crisis: a war for oil?" drew more than 400 people. A variety of views were expressed by the speakers concerning the role of the United Nations, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and how the conflict can be resolved.

Participants contributed \$700 to the Coalition Against U.S. Military Intervention in the Middle East.

On September 13, 200 people answered the coalition's call for a demonstration at City

Hall. Chanting "Homes! Peace! Jobs!," "No war for oil," and "U.S. hands off Arab lands!," the mostly young protesters then marched to a downtown army and air force recruiting station. Keli Kimbriel, who came with a group of high school students, said she was there because "it's our generation that will have to go, so high school students need to be involved."

The demonstration was covered by three local TV stations, one of which commented on the "surprisingly sympathetic response" of bystanders.

Edwin Fruit from Baltimore, Val Libby from Cincinnati, Paul Mailhot from Salt Lake City, Mary Walter from Denver, and John Votava from Chicago contributed to this article.

#### 'The Great Society'

"Great Society," a regular feature of the *Militant*, will not appear this week. Harry Ring, the author of the column, is recovering from an illness.

#### —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO

#### THE MILITANT ADQULIST REVINED LY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

Oct. 3, 1980

The all-out offensive launched September 22 by the Iraqi regime, following several weeks of escalating border attacks on Iran, fits in with the drive by U.S. imperialism to crush the Iranian revolution.

Iraqi war planes, supplemented by artillery shelling, repeatedly bombed Iran's largest oil refinery at Abadan. The huge oil and gas storage tanks were ablaze. The Iraqi regime claims its troops have "encircled and cut off completely" three Iranian cities.

The Iraqi military offensive began without any provocation by the Iranian government. The assault followed a declaration by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein on September 17 that a 1975 agreement giving Iran partial sovereignty over the Shatt al Arab waterway was henceforth "null and void."

# THE MILITANT Published in the Interests of the Working People Oct. 4, 1965 Price 10c

Young people in increasing numbers have been exposing themselves to personal reprisals in order to express their refusal to cooperate with the Johnson administration's war in South Vietnam. The latest is Johnny Jackson of Washington, D.C., a Negro soldier with the U.S. Army 1st Cavalry Division.

Jackson has been imprisoned in An Kahe, South Vietnam, on charges of disobeying orders to prepare to move to Vietnam. Three other Negro soldiers who did not want to go will also be tried on the same charges.

The four men attempted a hunger strike aboard the troop ship *Buckner* when they were shipped out against their will.

### **Build October 20 protests!**

Opponents of Washington's drive toward war in the Arab East have begun to mobilize their forces across the United States for national protests October 20.

"Bring the troops home!" and "No war for oil company profits!" are central demands for these actions in many areas, and efforts are underway to organize them from New York to San Francisco.

Special building activities to reach out for more support are being planned. These include picket lines, teach-ins, press conferences, town meetings, and mass distribution of fact sheets and other literature.

Everyone who opposes Washington's military mobilization and its threat to unleash a war in the Middle East should get behind the October 20 protests. These actions provide a focus around which a broad range of organizations with diverse views can unite against the U.S. government's military threats.

One of the considerations Washington has to weigh in calculating whether or not to invade Iraq or Kuwait is the opposition it will provoke among working people in the Middle East and the United States itself. That is, they are weighing the political costs of a war that may drag on and result in a lot of casualties, including young men and women from the United States.

The October 20 protests and other actions are a way to register the fact that there is opposition to Washington's

drive toward war. Actions of this kind are also an opportunity to educate about Washington's designs in the Arab East, the horrors a war there will bring, and why working people here have nothing to gain and the most to lose in the looming slaughter.

It's an opportunity to discuss with and involve fellow workers on the job. It's a chance to have a discussion at union meetings with fellow unionists and involve these organizations in the fight.

It's also an opportunity to reach out to young workers in uniform, the GIs who will have to fight Washington's war, to working-class areas, especially the Black and Latino communities; and to students on college and high school campuses.

This is the best preparation for organizing even more substantial opposition if Washington does launch a war.

Through these efforts wider numbers will be convinced:

• To call on the U.S. government and the United Nations Security Council to lift restrictions on emergency food and medical relief;

 To end the land, sea, and air blockade against Iraq, which keeps being tightened against the Iraqi people; and

• To extend solidarity with protesters in the Arab East who are attempting to prevent Washington from unleashing a bloody slaughter by demanding all U.S. and allied forces withdraw from the Persian Gulf area.

# **Keep South Africa sanctions!**

The red-carpet welcome given to South African President F.W. de Klerk in Washington September 23 and U.S. President George Bush's promise to relax or lift sanctions against the regime should be met with condemnation by the millions of unionists, students, political activists, and all democratic-minded people who turned out to greet African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela across the country earlier this year.

De Klerk is the first South African head of state to visit the United States since 1945. The international isolation of the apartheid regime through economic, military, cultural, and political sanctions has been a key component in weakening the pillars of white minority rule in South Africa.

In sharp contrast to his chilly reception of Mandela in June, Bush heaped praise on de Klerk for "your efforts, your courage — you leave with our gratitude, our appreciation, and a hearty godspeed."

Bush, ignoring the fact that the 30 million Blacks in South Africa do not even have the right to vote, credited de Klerk for steps the regime has actually been forced to take by the unrelenting struggle of millions of working people in South Africa.

As Bush was welcoming de Klerk, the South African government was sending more troops into Black townships and imposing mini-states of emergency in "unrest areas."

De Klerk also met with members of Congress, Democrats and Republicans, during his tour. The Congressional Black Caucus canceled a planned meeting only after receiving protests from anti-apartheid organizations.

South Africa's imperialist allies in both North America and Europe are hoping to polish up the image of the apartheid regime. They want to help it minimize concessions it will have to give as the revolutionary struggle continues. The U.S. rulers seek to blunt the anti-apartheid struggle and defend common interests they hold with the capitalist ruling families in South Africa.

Bush, as vice-president in 1986, opposed the adoption by Congress of the sanctions bill called the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. The law outlines five steps the regime must take before the punitive measures are lifted. Bush told de Klerk in Washington he would press for lifting the sanctions if only four of the five conditions were met. This would leave the Group Areas Act and the Population Registrations Act, both major pieces of apartheid law, intact.

From the moment Mandela walked out of 27 and a half years imprisonment he has denounced apartheid as "a crime against humanity."

Earlier this month, speaking at a meeting of the Organization of African Unity, Mandela scored the South African government for police and army complicity in the rising number of violent deaths in the country. "The carrying on of negotiations and rhetoric on peace while at the same time the government is conducting a war against us is a position we cannot accept," he said.

While on his North American tour, Mandela urged his audiences to continue sanctions and "join with us in walking the last mile. We have no illusion that it may yet prove to be the most difficult mile." The situation today in South Africa, and the steps by Bush to drop sanctions as rapidly as possible, indicate the scope of the struggle — both in South Africa and around the world — that is still ahead.

Getting out the truth about the battle to bring down apartheid, mobilizing to protest any moves to relax the sanctions, and building solidarity with the ANC, the unions, and the fighting people of South Africa are the steps needed to continue apartheid South Africa's international isolation.

# Syphilis rate at a 40-year high

Consider these facts. There was a 34 percent increase in the number of people in the United States being treated for syphilis between 1981 and 1989.

The rate of people treated for syphilis last year was higher than at any time since 1949. The overall rate rose most sharply over the last four years. The incidence of syphilis among Blacks more than doubled in that time.

Syphilis-caused chancre sores provide a direct route for the transmission of the AIDS virus, HIV, during sexual intercourse. There is a proven correlation between the rise in syphilis rates and the increase in HIV infection.

AIDS is now the leading factor in the growing gap in life expectancy between Blacks and whites and is the leading killer of Black women between the ages of 15 and 44.

Syphilis is easy to diagnose, and a shot of antibiotics quickly knocks out the bacteria. Simple precautions, such as the use of condoms, not only help prevent the spread of syphilis, but also HIV infection.

Why the increase in syphilis? The answer is the same as for tuberculosis, a disease that is just as curable and preventable. TB cases increased by almost 5 percent last year, causing a new threat to public health.

The rise in syphilis and TB cases is just a further sign that the public health system in the United States is collapsing.

Government budget cutbacks in programs to combat these diseases; overall cuts in other public health programs, housing, aid to the poor, and the steadily deteriorating living conditions of working people stemming from the employers' offensive against the unions have combined over the last decade to bring about this catastrophe.

There is no sign that the federal government intends to take steps necessary to check the growing syphilis rate. And as the capitalist economic crisis deepens, the prospects for any relief become dimmer.

More troubling is the air of complacency by the government, its agencies, and capitalist politicians, who matter-of-factly report these statistics. They betray the U.S. rulers' total lack of concern for those most affected by the rising threat to public health of the spread of syphilis. For them, working people — especially the most oppressed, Black and Latinos — aren't worth the effort and don't deserve to be treated as human beings.

### U.S. imperialism and the 8-year Iran-Iraq war

BY DOUG JENNESS

When President George Bush appeared on Iraqi television September 16, he told the Iraqi people the U.S. government had not been opposed to their government until the recent invasion of Kuwait.

"In the past," the president stated in the videotaped speech, "the United States has helped Iraq import billions of dollars worth of food and other commodities. And the war with Iran would not have ended two years ago without U.S. support and sponsorship in the United Nations."

The admission by top government officials that Washington aided Iraq in its eight-year war against Iran, which began in September 1980, has popped up in a number of places since Iraqi troops took over Kuwait in early August. This is a departure from the official government stance echoed by most newspaper publishers while the Iraqi

# LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

regime's aggression against Iran was taking place. The formal position then was "neutrality." Washington claimed it wasn't taking sides in the conflict.

But the truth was that the U.S. government strongly favored an Iraqi victory from the beginning of the conflict and, along with other imperialist powers, assisted this effort—even if indirectly and covertly. Especially in the last year of the war, Washington demonstrated in practice its sympathy for the Iraqi invasion. It was then that U.S. naval forces in the Persian Gulf opened a front against Iran.

Under the pretext of safeguarding Kuwaiti vessels, the U.S. Navy in the Gulf dealt considerable damage to Iranian ships and oil platforms. The U.S. armada in the Gulf also made it possible for Iraq to hit Iranian shipping and Iranian ports with impunity.

Moreover, with this reinforcement from the "neutral" U.S. forces, the Iraqi regime was emboldened to intensify its attacks on Iranian civilians. And it was during this period that Saddam Hussein's regime dropped cyanide and mustard gas on Halabjeh in Iraq — a Kurdish town that had been taken over by Iranian troops. Some 4,000-5,000 Kurds were killed and thousands more injured.

This was how U.S. naval intervention in late 1987 and early 1988 helped Iraqi forces end the stalemate and force the Iranian government to sue for a cease-fire, which went into effect in August 1988.

The sustained effort by the Carter and Reagan administrations to disguise their own role in the Iran-Iraq conflict contributed to the confusion of many left currents in the U.S. workers' movement who argued that working people should be "neutral" in the war, that it didn't make any difference which side won.

The Militant, however, vigorously defended Iran and the Iranian revolution against Iraqi aggression. While we recognized that the two contending sides were both capitalist states oppressed by imperialism, we also saw that an Iranian defeat would be a setback to the struggle of working people internationally.

The Iranian toilers mobilized in the millions to overturn the shah in 1979 and struck big blows against landlordism. They also took steps to break from imperialist domination. Oppressed nationalities — particularly Kurds and Azerbaijanis — played a significant role in this fight.

The capitalist ruling class in Iraq feared this massive revolutionary movement across its border that was inspiring working people in its own country, including the Kurdish population, which numbered some 3 million. For years the Iraqi regime had been waging a ruthless war against the Kurds, and they weren't pleased with the prospect of a new rebellion.

Even before the shah's tyranny was overturned, Hussein's regime was taking steps to attack the opposition forces. In 1978, for example, it expelled Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini from Iraq where he was living in exile.

After the revolution's triumph in Iran, the Iraqi regime expelled thousands of Shiites of Iranian origin. And it suppressed demonstrations of Iraqi workers who supported the Iranian revolution. It also permitted one of the shah's former generals, Gholam Oveissi, known in Iran as the "butcher," to set up bases in Iraq. The Iraqi government supplied him with money and arms to organize an anti-Iran operation.

It was following all this that Hussein invaded Iran. There is no sign that this scurrilous action was taken as the result of orders or pressure from Washington. The capitalist rulers of Iraq, who fear any threats to their domination in their country, had plenty of reasons of their own to try to deal a blow to the politically inspired working people of Iran. They didn't need a command from the White House or the Pentagon.

Yet, at the same time, the Iraqi invasion clearly coincided with the efforts being made by the ruling families in the United States to overturn the Iranian government.

The imperialist-backed slaughter against Iran, which dragged on for eight years, was one of the most costly wars since World War II. At least 1 million people were killed. The war and its outcome were a blow to working people throughout the region and the world.

#### Cannon fodder

Once again Mexicano/Chicano parents are being asked to sacrifice their sons and daughters as cannon fodder for the sole purpose of protecting the interests of the multinational oil companies.

In the European-American war against the Vietnamese people, our families paid dearly. One of every four persons that came back in plastic bags was a Mexicano/Chicano. The longest prisoner in captivity was a Mexicano/Chicano. Hundreds of Mexicano/Chicanos still suffer the effects of the war — alcoholism, drugs, Agent Orange, and psychological problems.

In the European-American invasion of Panama by the Bush administration, the first to come back to the United States in a plastic bag was a Mexicano/Chicano from the Rio Grande Valley of Texas.

As Mexicano/Chicanos, we do have a war. That war is here, not on some foreign continent. The Iraq war is not our war.

Our war is a struggle against the failure of the United States to live up to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, violating our human rights as indigenous peoples and our rights to land, language, and culture.

Our war is against illiteracy, drugs, gang warfare, the destruction of our barrios, genocide against our culture, and the destruction of the environment.

Gustavo Gutierrez Tempe, Arizona

#### Free Mark Curtis

Please send me your excellent magazine. As I am a prisoner here at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory at Anamosa, I hope there will be no charge.

I would like to commend you on your excellent articles on world matters of today plus your exceptional coverage of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. As an acquaintance of Mr. Curtis, I hope that you'll continue to keep us informed of the committee's continuing fight for his freedom.

Free Mark Curtis! A prisoner Anamosa, Iowa

#### Iraqi regime

Thank you for the background material on many issues. In particular, the background articles on the Persian Gulf were very enlightening. However, I have a few observations.

You occasionally describe the coups marking the Iraqi government's transitions from one ruler to the next as revolutions. At one point you make the statement that the masses gained control of their oil. Isn't the only kind of revolution that can be accomplished by a coup a capitalist revolution? In which case, how did the "masses" get "control" of "their" oil?

Second, thank you for the two sentences dealing with the millions of lives lost in the Iraqi instigatedborder war with Iran, which did have a revolution.

Third, the repressive policies of Kuwait toward foreign workers reminded me of a description by a German national of how foreign workers were treated in his homeland and of the U.S. government policy toward the foreign born here. But who are these foreign nationals pouring out of Iraq and into Jordan at a rate of 10,000 a day? Under what conditions did they live in Hussein's Iraq?

Why do you defend Saddam Hussein as one who advances the world struggle for workers' justice when he uses the most apolitical methods of border raiding, coups, bribes, assassinations, and the like.

It's a sticky situation, and I don't support the military option. But I think the motives of Iraq need to be examined a little closer. Simply op-

posing the moves of the Pentagon, while a good rule of thumb, will not always be the truest course. Revolutionary advances are made by raising workers' consciousness. Once you do that, borders dissolve. *Joe Geiser* 

Editor's reply: In last week's issue an article, the "Iraqi regime and its invasion of Kuwait" by Doug Jenness and Selva Nebbia, answers some of the questions raised by Geiser. Copies are available for \$1.50 from the Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York,

#### Farm policy

N.Y. 10014.

Price, Utah

"The government intends to submit measures that would allow farmers to own land for life, to inherit it, and to buy and sell it, [the Soviet news agency] Tass quoted Assayev — a USSR government office — as saying."

This is from an Associated Press news item. It brings to mind a review of the farm economy of the United States and of what we have faced in the last 60 years. It is a policy that lacks coherence.

Compare our agricultural struggles to the Rockefeller family belongings. The Rockefeller holdings have been increasing in wealth end on end, while farm owners have been foreclosed on by the thousands upon thousands for lack of rain.

The agricultural policy we have had in the United States is a policy of private ownership of all the farmland. It is an ownership policy based primarily on the income from farm produce. To have a price factor where the farmer produces a shortage to have a high price is not a pricing policy at all, but a shortage of food policy. It is a policy that has not been governed by the farmers' ability to produce.

John Enestvedt Sacred Heart, Minnesota

#### Hot cargo

While hundreds of thousands welcomed Nelson Mandela to New York on June 21, the city council in Wilmington, Delaware, voted to urge the mayor to permit the landing of South African cargo in the port here. This incredible act triggered a great deal of protest. Hundreds of port workers signed a petition demanding the port remain closed to South African cargo. City council meetings were packed by opponents of the apartheid regime. However, on August 23 the council passed an ordinance allowing "strategic minerals" from South Africa to be landed in the Port of Wilmington.

The developments here have a significance way beyond tiny Delaware. In 1986 Wilmington became the first East Coast port to ban shipments from South Africa. Since then there have been numerous attempts to either overturn or modify the ban. The so-called strategic minerals—chrome, tungsten, and steel—show that this is about the needs of the DuPont company. The ruling rich have managed to cut a hole through the ban. Roy Inglee

Wilmington, Delaware

#### Miami Cubans

I disagree with a reader whose letter appeared in the September 7 Militant that the identification of a racist store owner in Miami as Cuban smears all working people who are Cuban. And I disagree with his analysis of the "Cuban community."

Identifying the nationality of a racist attacker does not promote racist ideas. The rulers of capitalism are the constructors and promoters of racism

Identifying Reyes as a Cuban store owner is a statement of fact and carried political weight in the backing he got from Cuban merchant associations, right-wing Cuban radio stations, Cuban elected officials, and others. They all peddled the lie that this racist was the victim of racism from Haitians because he was Cuban. They appealed to the antiracist sentiment among workers who are Cuban to win backing for a racist.

Being "color blind" to Reyes' nationality when it is a political issue does not advance the fight against racism or clarity among working people about our interests. Reyes' nationality does not make him a racist, but it is a political factor. A section of the rulers who were uprooted in Cuba retreated to Miami. They are racist to the core. They lead middle-class layers made up of people like Reyes, who help to infect our class with their racist sickness.

Finally, the reader commented on the changes in the "Cuban community" over the last seven years, a "community" that has been "more with racism was new to him. He started giving Black soldiers advice on how to "beat the rap." When the brass found out, his military career was cut short.

Mark continued to be a staunch fighter against racism and injustice until the day he died. He will be missed by those of us who knew him. Amy Husk

Kansas City, Missouri

#### Workweek

In his July 27 "Learning about socialism" column, disputing the position taken in a letter that the goal of socialism is to shorten rather than lengthen the workweek, Doug Jenness asserts that lengthening the workweek in Cuba is an advance toward socialism. His apology for the Cuban Communist Party's new labor policy leads him away from a Marxist approach.

Cuban President Fidel Castro has become the champion of the struggle to raise labor productivity by

He down. Black correctional officers are being used to work in the units among convicted people.

If we as a group of African-American people don't pull together, we shall forever be slaves and it will always appear legal.

A prisoner Parchman, Mississippi

#### 'Reverse discrimination'

Reversing its initial decision, Actors Equity voted to allow British actor Jonathan Pryce to play the role of a Eurasian in the stage hit *Miss Saigon*. The original decision was an attempt by the actors' union to implement a small step for affirmative action for Asian performers.

The reversal reflected capitulation to the cries of "reverse discrimination" and "impingement on artistic freedom." The truth is that the British producer, who reaped huge profits from the production in London, did not want his freedom as boss compromised.

The phony argument that if whites couldn't play Asians, then minorities would no longer be able to play "white" roles is a racist veneer on the reality of decades of discrimination against minority performers. Whites have traditionally played Asian roles in film — Charlie Chan, Kung Fu — and on stage. Since 1986, a study by the union showed, 90 percent of all plays produced in the United States featured all-white casts.

It doesn't take much wisdom to know that Asians have been denied opportunities to play themselves for long enough. It's time to end the traditional equivalent of "Black face" for Asian performers.

Gary Cohen Arlington, Virginia

#### Workplace safety

Before I started working at the Budd Co., I was told by coworkers of how dangerous it is to work in a stamping plant. Experience has convinced me these warnings were an understatement.

Less than a year ago the Occupational Health and Safety Administration slapped the Philadelphia Budd plant with one of the biggest fines in history. OSHA found that noise levels throughout the plant exceeded acceptable limits and that the company had failed to inform more than 100 workers that they had suffered hearing loss.

After the OSHA fine, devices were installed to make the presses quieter but there is no sign the company is more conscious about safety. Within two weeks of each other, one coworker had a leg amputated and another lost parts of three fingers. In response, the company is raising the prospect of mandatory drug testing for all those who fall victim to serious on-the-job injuries. Instead of improving the unsafe work environment, they want to blame the workers.

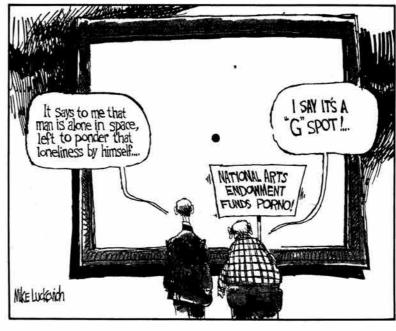
Neither the company nor the government can be expected to create a safe working environment. It is only the union and its membership that have the will and the power to do

Steve Halpern Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The Militant special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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often the victims of, rather than the aggressors in, racist acts."

Working people who are Cuban are being changed with the rest of our class as the crisis deepens and we begin to fight. But the racist stench from Cuban bank owners, factory owners, and most of the middle-class layers is as strong as ever. They have carried out more than their share of racist attacks in the schools, work places, and Black neighborhoods of Miami.

Jackie Floyd Miami, Florida

#### Prisoner fund

I would like to make a contribution to the *Militant* prisoner fund in memory of Mark Young from Wichita, Kansas. Mark was a former member of the Young Socialist Alliance and a reader of the *Militant* who died recently of a sudden illness

One of the warmest, most compassionate human beings I've met, Mark's tremendous love of humanity was matched only by his hatred of this brutal system that degrades and victimizes ordinary working people. He was the type of person who would "give the shirt off his back" to someone less fortunate than he.

That is why I think it very appropriate to make this contribution in his name so that prisoners — among the most victimized in this society — can read the *Militant*.

Mark opened his home to supporters of the paper several times over the past three years when we traveled to Wichita to talk politics with working people there. He introduced us to other fighters in the city and helped introduce the *Mili*tant to many of his friends.

Mark had joined the military when he was young, becoming a military policeman. He grew angry about how the military victimized servicemen who were Black. As a young white man, this experience introducing a longer workweek and more intensive norms of labor. This new labor policy is justified by maintaining that the interests of the masses are in complete harmony with the state.

Although a socialist mode of production is a prerequisite for the transition from capitalism to socialism, it is not a sufficient condition for the transformation of society. The Cuban workers' state rests on a bourgeois mode of distribution and the interests of the state are in discord with the interests of upgrading minimum conditions of employment.

Castro follows a classic recipe of Joseph Stalin in cooking up a theoretical justification for a policy that gives workers a choice of accepting less desirable conditions of employment or unemployment. He claims this policy is consistent with the "socialist" ideal of voluntary labor. Doug Mann Minneapolis, Minnesota

#### Modern slavery

The local government in Mississippi tells the press all about the great advancement that Blacks are making and the high number of Blacks in political office in the state. This is misleading to the people of Mississippi and all over the world.

It's true Mississippi has a very high number of Blacks in political office. However, most of them have been selected by the local government and placed into these positions so the state and local government can operate and maintain a family tradition that is being passed down through the generations.

This is a modern way of enslaving Blacks without them realizing they are enslaved. The system in Mississippi operates through social, economic, political, educational, and sexual exploitation, depriving Blacks of justice and equal opportunity.

Our people have been so misled that Blacks are holding one another

# THE MILITANT

# 1,000 rally to support Mohawks

#### Marchers demand Canadian government withdraw army troops from reserve

#### BY JOHN STEELE

KAHNAWAKE, Québec - Chanting "Army, go home!," nearly 1,000 demonstrators marched through the Kahnawake reserve in solidarity with Mohawk Indians here and at nearby Oka (Kanesatake) who are fighting to defend their land and establish their sovereignty.

About one third of the marchers were residents of Kahnawake. Others included university and junior college students from the Montréal area, civil liberties and solidarity activists, representatives of Black organizations, unionists, and others.

The September 23 action was in response to an invasion of the Kahnawake Mohawk reserve September 18 by 100 army troops and 60 of the Sûreté du Québec provincial police (SQ) who claimed to be looking for weapons. Eight army helicopters were used to transport the troops. The protest was organized by the Mohawk Nation Office and the Montréal-based Coalition in Solidarity with Native People.

A crowd of several hundred Mohawk men, women, and children mobilized to stop the troops from entering the Kahnawake village center.

The army fired tear gas into the crowd three times. Soldiers also fired their automatic weapons into the air. The Mohawks refused to retreat and defended themselves in hand-to-hand fighting. Seventy-five Mohawks were injured as they fled the tear gas. A number of soldiers received injuries. Finally, late in the evening while the Mohawks cheered, army helicopters airlifted the trapped soldiers off the reserve.

The invasion was endorsed the following day by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who



Mohawk supporter at August rally in Montréal. Sign reads, "Justice for the Mo-

praised the "restraint and discipline" of the army. It was part of an intensifying campaign of repression waged by the federal and Québec governments against the Mohawks over the past several months. The government campaign came in the wake of a July 11 attack by the provincial police against Mohawk barricades in Kanesatake in which a provincial cop was killed.

The barricade was erected to prevent the expansion of an exclusive golf course onto Mohawk land. For nearly a month army

troops, armored personnel carriers, and tanks surrounded about 50 Mohawk men, women, and children who took refuge in a detoxification center at Kanesatake. On September 26 they all walked out and were immediately taken into custody by the army.

"They can't have peace in this part of the world unless they recognize Mohawk sovereignty," Mike Myers of the Seneca Nation Iroquois Land Confederacy Committee told the rally that followed the September 23 demonstration.

The crowd cheered when a Canadian army soldier, masked to protect his identity, spoke to the meeting from the platform. "I am very nervous, but I have to say what I feel," he said. "I apologize on behalf of myself and many others for what we are doing to you today. Many of us feel this way." He explained that he had been especially upset by the role of the army in blocking food supplies to the Mohawks.

"The federal and Québec governments were responsible for the blockade of the Mercier Bridge," said Pierre La Grenade. La Grenade spoke on behalf of the executive of the Southwest Regional Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions and the Châteauguay Movement for Justice and Peace. During the course of the summer anti-Mohawk mobilizations calling for the army to open the bridge were organized by an outfit called Solidarity Châteauguay with the support of the cops and the army.

In an "Open letter to the people of Canada from behind the barbed wire at Kanesatake, Sept. 19, 1990," the Mohawks accused the army of violating national and international law by denying them access to food, medicine, and winter clothing and interfering with their ability to communicate with supporters outside the army encampment.

On September 19, Local 40 of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers organized a demonstration of 500 in front of the Canadian consulate in New York City. Many Mohawks at Kahnawake are members of Local 40.

On September 18 the Vancouver and District Labour Council called for the "immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all police and military forces to facilitate a peaceful negotiating process." The council also donated \$100 to the Mohawk Defense Fund.

The September meeting of District 15 of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation sent a message of solidarity to the Mohawks "in their struggle for increased self-determination and human rights."

New Democratic Party Ontario Premierelect Bob Rae told over 200 demonstrators in Toronto September 23 that a military solution is not the way and that "there is no room for racism" in Canada.

On the occasion of the opening of Parliament in Ottawa September 24, more than 1,000 demonstrators from Ottawa, Montréal, Toronto, and other cities across Canada demanded that the troops and cops be withdrawn from Mohawk territory, an end to the repression, and federal government recognition of Native land claims. The action was organized by the Assembly of First Nations, the Canada-wide organization of Native people.

### Greek soldiers protest Gulf war moves

#### BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

ATHENS, Greece — "We do not forget the macabre photographs of Greek soldiers coming back in coffins from the Korean war," 34 active-duty soldiers said in a signed statement here. "The involvement of Greece in the Persian Gulf crisis is a source of grave dangers. As Greek soldiers we are neither willing nor obligated to mortgage our lives playing guardians for Big Oil and its dirty dollars."

The statement was released September 3 in the wake of the departure of the Greek frigate Limnos towards the Persian Gulf. It was quoted widely in several dailies here.

The decision of the Greek government, headed by Constantinos Mitsotakis of the New Democracy Party, to join U.S. military forces in the Persian Gulf has been met by a great deal of opposition here.

All of the opposition parties in parliament, including former prime minister Andreas Papandreou's Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), have condemned the decision to deploy the frigate. Parliamentary deputies of both parties argued that the decision to send the ship was not in line with adopted UN resolutions which their parties supported.

Mounting opposition, along with divisions within the New Democracy Party over the issue, led Mitsotakis to refuse to debate the issue in parliament as opposition parties demanded.

Some 2,500 people demonstrated on August 27, when the government announced its decision. The march was called by peace groups affiliated with the PASOK, KKE, and

Dozens of relatives of sailors from the Limnos and of Greeks who are stranded in Iraq organized a picket line at the navy base in Salamina during the ceremony for the ship's departure.

"I did not give birth to him to go to the Persian Gulf," said Anna Pepa, a sailor's mother, at the picket. "He is not going there to defend the country but to play Big Oil's

'Why doesn't Mitsotakis send his son?" yelled another woman. "None of the government ministers' sons are going!"

The Greek daily Eleftherotipia wrote on September 2, "The frigate's crew was particularly nervous, especially the sailors, who did not expect something like this to happen during their service." It quoted a sailor on the ship saying, "We thought we joined to serve the country.'

Another demonstration of several hundred was held in Athens on September 4. It was called by the Movement for the Democratic

Rights of the Soldiers, Communist Youth of Greece, and other leftist and peace groups. Among the demands were, "Bring the Limnos back" and "Americans out of the Persian Gulf."

These protests are taking place as a wave of strikes and protests have been mounted by airline, steel, bank, telephone, electricity, textile, and mine workers over layoffs, the impact of soaring inflation, and measures announced by the government to slash pensions and dismantle the national health-care system.

On September 17 the government announced it would not expel Iraqi diplomats from Greece following decisions by other European Community governments to do so.

### Young Koreans begin hunger strike at UN

#### BY PETER THIERJUNG

NEW YORK — A 15-day hunger strike to protest the division of Korea and the campaign by the South Korean government to become a voting member of the United Nations will begin here October 1. A rally and other activities are being organized to coincide with the protest.

Forty years ago U.S. military forces, under cover of the UN flag, launched a war to establish Washington's domination of the Korean peninsula. North Korean forces and internationalist fighters from China, however, thwarted Washington's aims and stalemated U.S. forces.

An armistice was signed in 1953, and since then the country has been divided into North and South. No peace treaty was ever signed, and a UN force headed by the United States remains in the South, armed with nuclear weapons.

Because of Korea's division, the governments in the North and South each maintain

nonvoting observer missions at the UN. Recently the government in Seoul, South Korea, began a campaign to become a voting member. The government in the North has proposed that the two sides reach an agreement to enter the UN with a single seat.

"Despite the recent meeting of the prime ministers from North and South" aimed at opening talks on reunification, the Seoul government "is driving ahead with its campaign" for membership, said Seung Yoon, a New York leader of Young Koreans United, in an interview. She explained that the move is a step toward the permanent division of her country.

Yoon said the protest calls for the signing of a peace treaty to end the state of war between North and South, opposes separate seats for North and South in the UN: and demands withdrawal of UN forces from Korea.

Young Koreans United, an organization of Koreans in the United States, is a central

organizer of the protest. Other sponsors include the International Committee for Peace and Reunification of Korea, the National Peace and Justice Office of the Episcopal Church, and the Han Gyuh Reh (One Korea, One People) Movement.

Almost 60 other organizations have endorsed the protest, including the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Mobilization for Survival, the American Indian Movement, Palestine Aid Society of America, SANE/FREEZE, the African National Congress Observer Mission to the UN, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom of New York.

The hunger strike protest will be held at Ralph Bunche Park, just outside the UN building, from October 1 through 15. A rally has been called for October 5, 2:30-5:30 p.m., at Dag Hammerskjöld Park, 1st Avenue and 47th Street. For more information or to send messages of support, call (718) 426-